

For Six Month Period Ending 11/30/2007
(Insert date)

I - REGISTRANT

1. (a) Name of Registrant (b) Registration No.

Barbour Griffith & Rogers, LLC

5430

- (c) Business Address(es) of Registrant

1275 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
10th Floor
Washington D.C. 20004

2. Has there been a change in the information previously furnished in connection with the following:

- (a) If an individual:
- | | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (1) Residence address | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (2) Citizenship | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (3) Occupation | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |

- (b) If an organization:
- | | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------------|--|
| (1) Name | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| (2) Ownership or control | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| (3) Branch offices | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |

- (c) Explain fully all changes, if any, indicated in items (a) and (b) above.

IF THE REGISTRANT IS AN INDIVIDUAL, OMIT RESPONSE TO ITEMS 3, 4 AND 5(a).

3. If you have previously filed Exhibit C¹, state whether any changes therein have occurred during this 6 month reporting period.

Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, have you filed an amendment to the Exhibit C? Yes ☐ No ☐

If no, please attach the required amendment.

¹ The Exhibit C, for which no printed form is provided, consists of a true copy of the charter, articles of incorporation, association, and by laws of a registrant that is an organization. (A waiver of the requirement to file an Exhibit C may be obtained for good cause upon written application to the Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, DC 20530.)

4. (a) Have any persons ceased acting as partners, officers, directors or similar officials of the registrant during this 6 month reporting period? Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name	Position	Date connection ended
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- (b) Have any persons become partners, officers, directors or similar officials during this 6 month reporting period? Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name	Residence address	Citizenship	Position	Date assumed
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5. (a) Has any person named in item 4(b) rendered services directly in furtherance of the interests of any foreign principal? Yes ☐ No ☐

If yes, identify each such person and describe his service.

- (b) Have any employees or individuals, who have filed a short form registration statement, terminated their employment or connection with the registrant during this 6 month reporting period? Yes ☒ No ☐

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name	Position or connection	Date terminated
Laura J. Celeste Ward	Vice President Barbour Griffith & Rogers International	6/30/2007

- (c) During this 6 month reporting period, has the registrant hired as employees or in any other capacity, any persons who rendered or will render services to the registrant directly in furtherance of the interests of any foreign principal(s) in other than a clerical or secretarial, or in a related or similar capacity? Yes ☒ No ☐

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name	Residence address	Citizenship	Position	Date assumed
Eric Burgeson	2403 North Utah Street Arlington, VA 22207	U.S.A.	Vice President	10/29/2007

6. Have short form registration statements been filed by all of the persons named in Items 5(a) and 5(c) of the supplemental statement? Yes ☒ No ☐

If no, list names of persons who have not filed the required statement.

II - FOREIGN PRINCIPAL

7. Has your connection with any foreign principal ended during this 6 month reporting period?

Yes ☒ No ☐

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name of foreign principal

Date of termination

Republic of China (Taiwan)

8/31/2007

8. Have you acquired any new foreign principal² during this 6 month reporting period?

Yes ☒ No ☐

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name and address of foreign principal

Date acquired

Iraqi National Accord

8/20/2007

9. In addition to those named in Items 7 and 8, if any, list foreign principals² whom you continued to represent during the 6 month reporting period.

Kurdistan Regional Government (formerly Kurdish Democratic Party)

Republic of India

Serbia (though Serbian-American Center)

State of Qatar

10. EXHIBITS A AND B

(a) Have you filed for each of the newly acquired foreign principals in Item 8 the following:

Exhibit A ³	Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>
Exhibit B ⁴	Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>

If no, please attach the required exhibit.

(b) Have there been any changes in the Exhibits A and B previously filed for any foreign principal whom you represented during the 6 month period?

Yes ☒ No ☐

If yes, have you filed an amendment to these exhibits? Yes ☒ No ☐

If no, please attach the required amendment.

² The term "foreign principal" includes, in addition to those defined in Section 1(b) of the Act, an individual organization any of whose activities are directly or indirectly supervised, directed, controlled, financed, or subsidized in whole or in major part by a foreign government, foreign political party, foreign organization or foreign individual. (See Rule 100(a)(9)). A registrant who represents more than one foreign principal is required to list in the statements he files under the Act only those principals for whom he is not entitled to claim exemption under Section 3 of the Act. (See Rule 208.)

³ The Exhibit A, which is filed on Form CRM-157 (Formerly OBD-6⁷), sets forth the information required to be disclosed concerning each foreign principal.

⁴ The Exhibit B, which is filed on Form CRM-155 (Formerly OBD-65), sets forth the information concerning the agreement or understanding between the registrant and the foreign principal.

III - ACTIVITIES

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11. During this 6 month reporting period, have you engaged in any activities for or rendered any services to any foreign principal named in Items 7, 8, and 9 of this statement? Yes ☒ No ☐

If yes, identify each such foreign principal and describe in full detail your activities and services:

See attachment

-
12. During this 6 month reporting period, have you on behalf of any foreign principal engaged in political activity⁵ as defined below? Yes ☒ No ☐

If yes, identify each such foreign principal and describe in full detail all such political activity, indicating, among other things, the relations, interests and policies sought to be influenced and the means employed to achieve this purpose. If the registrant arranged, sponsored or delivered speeches, lectures or radio and TV broadcasts, give details as to dates and places of delivery, names of speakers and subject matter.

Yes attachment

-
13. In addition to the above described activities, if any, have you engaged in activity on your own behalf which benefits any or all of your foreign principals? Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, describe fully.

⁵ The term "political activities" means any activity that the person engaging in believes will, or that the person intends to, in any way influence any agency or official of the Government of the United States or any section of the public within the United States with reference to formulating, adopting or changing the domestic or foreign policies of the United States or with reference to the political or public interests, policies, or relations of a government of a foreign country or a foreign political party.

IV - FINANCIAL INFORMATION

14. (a) RECEIPTS-MONIES

During this 6 month reporting period, have you received from any foreign principal named in Items 7, 8, and 9 of this statement, or from any other source, for or in the interests of any such foreign principal, any contributions, income or money either as compensation or otherwise? Yes ☒ No ☐

If no, explain why.

If yes, set forth below in the required detail and separately for each foreign principal an account of such monies⁶

Date	From whom	Purpose	Amount
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See attached

Total

(b) RECEIPTS - FUND RAISING CAMPAIGN

During this 6 month reporting period, have you received, as part of a fund raising campaign⁷, any money on behalf of any foreign principal named in items 7, 8, and 9 of this statement? Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, have you filed an Exhibit D⁸ to your registration? Yes ☐ No ☐

If yes, indicate the date the Exhibit D was filed. Date _____

(c) RECEIPTS - THINGS OF VALUE

During this 6 month reporting period, have you received any thing of value⁹ other than money from any foreign principal named in Items 7, 8, and 9 of this statement, or from any other source, for or in the interests of any such foreign principal? Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name of foreign principal	Date received	Description of thing of value	Purpose
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^{6, 7} A registrant is required to file an Exhibit D if he collects or receives contributions, loans, money, or other things of value for a foreign principal, as part of a fund raising campaign. (See Rule 201(e).)

⁸ An Exhibit D, for which no printed form is provided, sets forth an account of money collected or received as a result of a fund raising campaign and transmitted for a foreign principal.

⁹ Things of value include but are not limited to gifts, interest free loans, expense free travel, favored stock purchases, exclusive rights, favored treatment over competitors, "kickbacks," and the like.

15. (a) **DISBURSEMENTS – MONIES**

During this 6 month reporting period, have you

(1) disbursed or expended monies in connection with activity on behalf of any foreign principal named in Items 7, 8, and 9 of this statement? Yes ☐ No ☒

(2) transmitted monies to any such foreign principal? Yes ☐ No ☒

If no, explain in full detail why there were no disbursements made on behalf of any foreign principal.

Such disbursements not required by the nature of the services provided by the registrant (lobbying and consulting).

If yes, set forth below in the required detail and separately for each foreign principal an account of such monies, including monies transmitted, if any, to each foreign principal.

Date	To whom	Purpose	Amount
------	---------	---------	--------

Total

(b) DISBURSEMENTS – THINGS OF VALUE

During this 6 month reporting period, have you disposed of anything of value¹⁰ other than money in furtherance of or in connection with activities on behalf of any foreign principal named in Items 7, 8, and 9 of this statement?

Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, furnish the following information:

Date disposed	Name of person to whom given	On behalf of what foreign principal	Description of thing of value	Purpose
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(c) DISBURSEMENTS – POLITICAL CONTRIBUTIONS

During this 6 month reporting period, have you from your own funds and on your own behalf either directly or through any other person, made any contributions of money or other things of value¹¹ in connection with an election to any political office, or in connection with any primary election, convention, or caucus held to select candidates for political office?

Yes ☒ No ☐

If yes, furnish the following information:

Date	Amount or thing of value	Name of political organization	Name of candidate
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See attached

^{10, 11} Things of value include but are not limited to gifts, interest free loans, expense free travel, favored stock purchases, exclusive rights, favored treatment over competitors, "kickbacks" and the like.

V - INFORMATIONAL MATERIALS

16. During this 6 month reporting period, did you prepare, disseminate or cause to be disseminated any informational materials ^{12?}
 Yes ☒ No ☐

IF YES, RESPOND TO THE REMAINING ITEMS IN SECTION V.

17. Identify each such foreign principal.

Iraqi National Accord
 Kurdistan Regional Government (formerly Kurdish Democratic Party)
 Republic of India
 Serbia (though Serbian-American Center)

18. During this 6 month reporting period, has any foreign principal established a budget or allocated a specified sum of money to finance your activities in preparing or disseminating informational materials? Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, identify each such foreign principal, specify amount, and indicate for what period of time.

19. During this 6 month reporting period, did your activities in preparing, disseminating or causing the dissemination of informational materials include the use of any of the following:

- | | | | |
|--|--|--|---|
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Radio or TV broadcasts | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Magazine or newspaper articles | <input type="checkbox"/> Motion picture films | <input type="checkbox"/> Letters or telegrams |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Advertising campaigns | <input type="checkbox"/> Press releases | <input type="checkbox"/> Pamphlets or other publications | <input type="checkbox"/> Lectures or speeches |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Internet | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Other (specify) <u>Email distribution of informational materials</u> | | |

20. During this 6 month reporting period, did you disseminate or cause to be disseminated informational materials among any of the following groups:

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Public Officials | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Newspapers | <input type="checkbox"/> Libraries |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Legislators | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Editors | <input type="checkbox"/> Educational institutions |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Government agencies | <input type="checkbox"/> Civic groups or associations | <input type="checkbox"/> Nationality groups |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify) _____ | | |

21. What language was used in the informational materials:

- ☒ English ☐ Other (specify) _____

22. Did you file with the Registration Unit, U.S. Department of Justice a copy of each item of such informational materials disseminated or caused to be disseminated during this 6 month reporting period? Yes ☒ No ☐

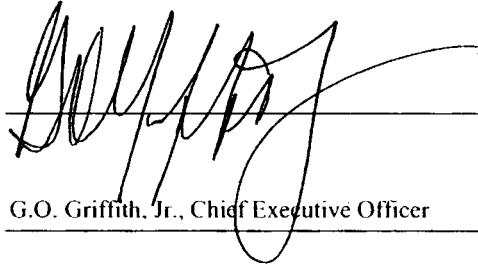
23. Did you label each item of such informational materials with the statement required by Section 4(b) of the Act? Yes ☒ No ☐

¹² The term informational materials includes any oral, visual, graphic, written, or pictorial information or matter of any kind, including that published by means of advertising, books, periodicals, newspapers, lectures, broadcasts, motion pictures, or any means or instrumentality of interstate or foreign commerce or otherwise. Informational materials disseminated by an agent of a foreign principal as part of an activity in itself exempt from registration, or an activity which by itself would not require registration, need not be filed pursuant to Section 4(b) of the Act.

VI – EXECUTION

In accordance with 28 U.S.C. §1746, the undersigned swear(s) or affirm(s) under penalty of perjury that he/she has (they have) read the information set forth in this registration statement and the attached exhibits and that he/she is (they are) familiar with the contents thereof and that such contents are in their entirety true and accurate to the best of his/her (their) knowledge and belief, except that the undersigned make(s) no representation as to the truth or accuracy of the information contained in the attached Short Form Registration Statement(s), if any, insofar as such information is not within his/her (their) personal knowledge.

(Date of signature)

(Type or print name under each signature¹³)

G.O. Griffith, Jr., Chief Executive Officer

Barbour Griffith & Rogers, LLC

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GRIFFITH & ROGERS, LLC
UNIT

¹³ This statement shall be signed by the individual agent, if the registrant is an individual or by a majority of those partners, officers, directors or persons performing similar functions, if the registrant is an organization, except that the organization can, by power of attorney, authorize one or more individuals to execute this statement on its behalf.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FARA REGISTRATION UNIT
NATIONAL SECURITY DIVISION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20530

NOTICE

Please answer the following questions and return this sheet in triplicate with your Supplemental Statement:

1. Is your answer to Item 16 of Section V (Informational Materials – page 8 of Form CRM-154, formerly Form OBD-64-Supplemental Statement):

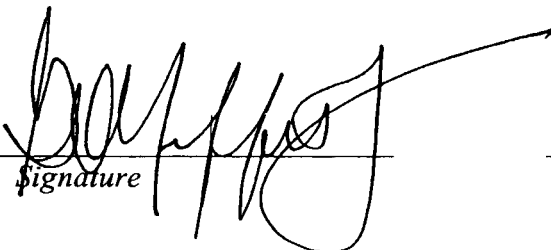
YES ✓ or NO _____

(If your answer to question 1 is "yes" do not answer question 2 of this form.)

2. Do you disseminate any material in connection with your registration:

YES _____ or NO _____

(If your answer to question 2 is "yes" please forward for our review copies of all material including: films, film catalogs, posters, brochures, press releases, etc. which you have disseminated during the past six months.)


Signature

18 Dec 07
Date

LARRY GAFF
Please type or print name of
Signatory on the line above

CEO
Title

2007 DEC 17 11:1:02
COMM-FARA REGISTRATION UNIT



U.S. Department of Justice

Criminal Division

Washington, DC 20530

THIS FORM IS TO BE AN OFFICIAL ATTACHMENT TO YOUR CURRENT SUPPLEMENTAL STATEMENT -
PLEASE EXECUTE IN TRIPLICATE

SHORT-FORM REGISTRATION INFORMATION SHEET

SECTION A

The Department records list active short-form registration statements for the following persons of your organization filed on the date indicated by each name. If a person is not still functioning in the same capacity directly on behalf of the foreign principal, please show the date of termination.

Short Form List for Registrant: Barbour Griffith & Rogers, LLC

Last Name	First Name and Other Names	Registration Date	Termination Date	Role
Griffith	Lanny	05/10/2001		
Imperatore	Brant	04/07/2005		
Monroe	Loren	05/10/2001		
Murphy	Daniel R.	04/12/2002		
Parasiliti	Andrew	04/07/2005		
Rogers	Edward M. Jr.,	12/22/2004		
Ward	Laura Celeste J.	04/11/2007	6/30/2007	Vice President
Lukawski	Jennifer	04/28/2006		
Roberts	John Walker	02/22/2007		
Ross	Shalla	04/28/2006		
Cunningham	William B.	05/02/2006		
Blackwill	Robert D.	11/15/2005		
Henick	Ingrid Belton	01/30/2007		
Burgis on	Eric	12/29/2007		Vice President

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U.S. Department of Justice

National Security Division

Washington, DC 20530

SECTION B

In addition to those persons listed in Section A, list below all current employees rendering services directly on behalf of the foreign principals(s) who have not filed short-form registration statements. (Do not list clerks, secretaries, typists or employees in a similar or related capacity). If there is some question as to whether an employee has an obligation to file a short-form, please address a letter to the Registration Unit describing the activities and connection with the foreign principal.

Name	Function	Date Hired

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Title: _____

CEO

18 Dec 07

2007 DEC 17 PM 1:02
CNV/032/13 101001

Addendum to the Supplemental Statement
Barbour Griffith & Rogers, LLC (Registration Number 5430)
Questions 11&12 – Services; Political Activity

State of Qatar

The Registrant engaged in monitoring and advising on U.S. policymaking processes with regard to the State of Qatar. The Registrant did not engage in any political activity of behalf of the foreign principal. The Registrant did not distribute or facilitate the distribution of any informational material on the behalf of the foreign principal.

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ORIGINAL FILED IN

Addendum to the Supplemental Statement
Barbour Griffith & Rogers, LLC (Registration Number 5430)
Questions 11&12 – Services; Political Activity

Serbia (through the Serbian-American Center)

The Registrant engaged in two categories of political activities: monitoring and advising on U.S. policymaking processes with regard to Serbia, and arranging meetings between Serbian and U.S. officials. The means employed included communications to, and meeting and briefings with, U.S. government officials and members of the U.S. media, as well as distribution of informational materials. Specifically, during the six-month period, the Registrant engaged in the activities listed below. A copy of all informational material either distributed or facilitated by the Registrant on behalf of the foreign principal is attached.

2017 DEC 17 10:11:03
COMM-FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

SERBIA.FARA. 2007

Date of Contact	U.S. Gov. Official Contacted	Manner in Which Contact Was Made	Subject Matter
June 27	Bertram Braun, National Security Council	E-mail	US-Serbia Relations
June 30	Bertram Braun, National Security Council	E-mail	US-Serbia Relations
July 6	Rosemary DiCarlo, Department of State	Meeting	US-Serbia Relations
July 6	Bertram Braun, National Security Council	Meeting	US-Serbia Relations
July 17	Bertram Braun, National Security Council	Phone call	US-Serbia Relations
July 18	Bertram Braun, National Security Council	E-mail	US-Serbia Relations
July 23	Dan Fata, Department of State	E-mail	Helped arrange meeting for Serbian officials
July 26	Dan Fata, Department of State	E-mail	Helped arrange meeting for Serbian officials
September 3	Bertram Braun, National Security Council	Meeting	US-Serbia-Kosovo Relations
October 3	Bertram Braun, National Security Council	Meeting	US-Serbia Relations
October 24	Bertram Braun, National Security Council	Meeting	US-Serbia-Kosovo Relations
October 25	Rexon Ryu, Office of Senator Chuck Hagel (R-NE)	E-mail	US-Serbia Relations; Meeting Request
October 29	Bertram Braun, National Security Council	E-mail	US-Serbia Relations
October 29	Rosemary DiCarlo, Department of State	E-mail	US-Serbia-Kosovo Relations
October 30	Bertram Braun, National Security Council	Phone Call	US-Serbia Relations
November 2	Andrew Peek, Office of Senator Gordon Smith (R-OR)	Meeting	US-Serbia Relations

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November 8	John Tomaszewski, Office of Rep. Gus Bilirakis (R-FL)	Meeting	US-Serbia Relations
November 9	Rep. Peter Roskam (R-IL)	Meeting	US-Serbia Relations
November 15	Bertram Braun, National Security Council	E-mail	US-Serbia-Kosovo Relations
November 21	Bertram Braun, National Security Council	E-mail	US-Serbia Relations
November 26	John Tomaszewski, Office of Rep. Gus Bilirakis (R-FL)	Meeting	US-Serbia Relations
November 30	Bertram Braun, National Security Council	Phone Call	US-Serbia Relations

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Date of Contact	Media Contacted	Manner in Which Contact Was Made	Subject Matter
September 6	New York Times	Meeting	Serbia/Balkans
November 16	Financial Times	Phone Call	Serbia-Kosovo Issues; Possible Op-Ed
November 16	Financial Times	E-mail	Serbia-Kosovo Issues; Possible Op-Ed

Balkan Update

From: Balkan Update [balkanupdate@balkanupdate.net]
Sent: Wednesday, July 25, 2007 11:17 AM
To: 'Balkan Update'
Subject: Serbian Parliament Adopts Resolution on Kosovo

Balkan Update

Serbian Parliament Adopts Resolution on Kosovo, negotiating team's report Official Website of the Serbian Government July 25, 2007

Belgrade – Serbian parliament in an extraordinary session supported government-proposed Resolution on the need for a just solution of the Autonomous Province of Kosovo-Metohija based on international law and Report of the negotiating team for political talks on the future status of Kosovo-Metohija. The two documents got supported by 217 MPs, 12 were against while three abstained from voting.

Resolution on the need for a just solution of the issue of the Autonomous Province of Kosovo-Metohija based on international law (TEXT):

1. Kosovo and Metohija is an inseparable part of the state of Serbia on the basis of existing and all-binding constitutional and international legal documents. The sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Serbia are guaranteed not only by the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia, but also by the United Nations Charter, the Helsinki Final Act and proper resolutions of the UN Security Council, especially Resolution 1244. Any solution for the future status of Kosovo-Metohija must be based on these basic principles, complying at the same time with the appropriate decisions of the UN Security Council. Any attempt to reach a decision that violates these basic principles would be declared null and void and dangerous for the survival of the state of Serbia, and as such, would represent a motive for the state organs of the Republic of Serbia to take appropriate actions in line with international law.
2. The Republic of Serbia is ready to start a new phase of negotiations for finding the most favourable solution for Kosovo-Metohija, taking into account all fundamental state interests, the legitimate interests of the Albanian national minority in the province, general interests of securing regional stability and prospects for peaceful and prosperous future for all its citizens. Laying out its proposal for substantial autonomy of Kosovo-Metohija, the Republic of Serbia is ready to reach a compromise solution to this issue.
3. To that end, it is necessary that interested international parties, together with representatives of the Republic of Serbia, secure true negotiations between representatives of the Republic of Serbia and interim institutions of self-government in Kosovo-Metohija. As opposed to unsuccessful talks led by Martti Ahtisaari, new negotiations must be open as regards their outcome and duration, while at the same time respecting the basic principles and norms of international law.
4. Serbian parliament thinks that the new United Nations Security Council resolution on Kosovo-Metohija should be brought only after the conclusion of talks at which a compromise solution for the province's status resolution is adopted. New talks may be led only within the effective UN Security Council Resolution 1244 and on the basis of the United Nation's clear mandate.

5. Serbian parliament demands that all United Nations member states respect Serbia's sovereignty and territorial integrity in line with international law, UN Charter and UN Security Council Resolution 1244. Serbian parliament also demands that UN Secretary General takes all measures at his disposal, on the basis of UN binding documents, and prevent the breach of the UN Charter and UN Security Council Resolution 1244. The Serbian government is under obligation to act towards the accomplishment of these demands posed by Serbian parliament.

6. Serbian parliament thinks that unilateral recognition of Kosovo's self-proclaimed independence would have unpredictable consequences on regional stability. The Serbian government and all state organs are under obligation to react vigorously and duly to any hint or act on the part of any international entity whose final aim would be unilateral acts of breaching Serbia's sovereignty and territorial integrity. This particularly refers to threats and acts of unilateral acknowledgment of Kosovo-Metohija's independence.

7. The Serbian government is under obligation to form a new state negotiating team for talks on Kosovo-Metohija's future status.

8. The Serbian government is under obligation to regularly inform Serbian parliament on international and domestic situation regarding Kosovo-Metohija.

This statement can also be found at: <http://www.srbija.sr.gov.yu/vesti/vest.php?id=36976>

The text of the Resolution can be found at: <http://www.srbija.sr.gov.yu/kosovo-metohija/index.php?id=36974>

Note: Barbour Griffith & Rogers, LLC has filed registration statements under the Foreign Agents Registration Act with regard to its representation and dissemination of information on behalf of the Government of Serbia. Additional information is on file with the Foreign Agents Registration Unit of the Department of Justice in Washington DC.

Balkan Update

From: Balkan Update [balkanupdate@balkanupdate.net]
Sent: Wednesday, August 29, 2007 8:59 AM
Subject: Ivan Vujacic: "Respect Serbian Sovereignty"

Respect Serbian Sovereignty

By Ivan Vujacic

Wall Street Journal

August 25, 2007; Page A5

In his op-ed, "Another Kosovo Crisis" (Aug. 8), Matthew Kaminski argues that "Belgrade should be given a stark choice: a future in league with Russia or the EU and NATO" with giving up Kosovo as the test. He repeats the familiar argument that if Kosovo is not given independence, there could be violence, mostly by Albanians, like in 2004, so that the West should recognize Kosovo unilaterally, if the new negotiations fail.

The position of Serbia is very clear; it offers Kosovo the broadest possible autonomy within Serbia, over and above European standards. It wants negotiations in good faith and not predetermined ones that take away the meaning of the word. It wants the process to move forward under the umbrella of the U.N., as it is the body that has defined Kosovo's current status by its Security Council Resolution 1244. Serbia demands respect for its sovereignty and territorial integrity under international law and is strongly against creating new borders in the Balkans. While we all agree that there should not be a division of Kosovo, seems that some fail to see that the independence of Kosovo (a province of Serbia, that did not have the status of a republic in the former Yugoslavia), would really be a division of Serbia.

Mr. Kaminski should know that Serbia has been a democratic state since the overthrow of Milosevic in the year 2000 and that it is aspiring to a European future. Why should it be faced with the stark choice, or should I say blackmail, that he is proposing? What would he be saying if someone was putting the same choice before the Albanians in Kosovo -- the EU or independence? What kind of answer would he be expecting to get?

The most disturbing part of his argument is that immediate independence is the only way to avoid unrest and violence. Isn't this against the principle of not allowing violence or threat of violence as a means for achieving political gain? Furthermore, his assessment that Kosovo is the easiest of all nation-building projects that the U.S. is currently involved in and his agreeable way of quoting Gen. Douglas Earhart saying that "Kosovo is where we'll like to be in Iraq and Afghanistan" should raise eyebrows, given the solution that he is supporting.

Ivan Vujacic

Ambassador of the Republic of Serbia to the United States

Washington, DC

Link: <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB118800478736408597.html>

Note: Barbour Griffith & Rogers, LLC has filed registration statements under the Foreign Agents Registration Act with regard to its representation and dissemination of information on behalf of the Government of Serbia. Additional information is on file with the Foreign Agents Registration Unit of the Department of Justice in Washington DC.

Balkan Update

From: Balkan Update [balkanupdate@balkanupdate.net]

Sent: Wednesday, August 29, 2007 9:59 AM

Subject: Letter from Ambassador Ivan Vujacic to the Wall Street Journal: "Respect Serbian Sovereignty"

Balkan Update

Respect Serbian Sovereignty

By Ivan Vujacic

Wall Street Journal

August 25, 2007; Page A5

In his op-ed, "Another Kosovo Crisis" (Aug. 8), Matthew Kaminski argues that "Belgrade should be given a stark choice: a future in league with Russia or the EU and NATO" with giving up Kosovo as the test. He repeats the familiar argument that if Kosovo is not given independence, there could be violence, mostly by Albanians, like in 2004, so that the West should recognize Kosovo unilaterally, if the new negotiations fail.

The position of Serbia is very clear; it offers Kosovo the broadest possible autonomy within Serbia, over and above European standards. It wants negotiations in good faith and not predetermined ones that take away the meaning of the word. It wants the process to move forward under the umbrella of the U.N., as it is the body that has defined Kosovo's current status by its Security Council Resolution 1244. Serbia demands respect for its sovereignty and territorial integrity under international law and is strongly against creating new borders in the Balkans. While we all agree that there should not be a division of Kosovo, seems that some fail to see that the independence of Kosovo (a province of Serbia, that did not have the status of a republic in the former Yugoslavia), would really be a division of Serbia.

Mr. Kaminski should know that Serbia has been a democratic state since the overthrow of Milosevic in the year 2000 and that it is aspiring to a European future. Why should it be faced with the stark choice, or should I say blackmail, that he is proposing? What would he be saying if someone was putting the same choice before the Albanians in Kosovo -- the EU or independence? What kind of answer would he be expecting to get?

The most disturbing part of his argument is that immediate independence is the only way to avoid unrest and violence. Isn't this against the principle of not allowing violence or threat of violence as a means for achieving political gain? Furthermore, his assessment that Kosovo is the easiest of all nation-building projects that the U.S. is currently involved in and his agreeable way of quoting Gen. Douglas Earhart saying that "Kosovo is where we'll like to be in Iraq and Afghanistan" should raise eyebrows, given the solution that he is supporting.

Ivan Vujacic

*Ambassador of the Republic of Serbia to the United States
Washington, DC*

This letter can also be found at: <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB118800478736408597.html>

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12/10/2007

Balkan Update

From: Balkan Update [balkanupdate@balkanupdate.net]

Sent: Thursday, August 30, 2007 10:22 AM

Subject: Rep. Dan Burton (R-IN) in the Washington Times: Negotiating for Peace in Kosovo

Balkan Update

Negotiating for Peace in Kosovo

By Dan Burton

Washington Times

August 20, 2007

In coming weeks, an international confrontation is likely to occur among the United States, the European Union, and Russia over an issue most Americans have long since forgotten: Kosovo, where a few hundred Americans remain deployed as part of a NATO force protecting a shaky interim peace that ended the 1999 U.S.-led intervention.

For most Americans this obscure Serbian province, with its mainly Albanian Muslim population and its hundreds of Serbian Christian churches and monasteries, may be a little-remembered footnote to the breakup of Yugoslavia. However, now is the time for clear thinking about next steps if Kosovo is to avoid revisiting its history as a hotbed of regional instability and violence.

The international mission in Kosovo for the last eight years has not met its original goals regarding establishment of an open, multiethnic and multireligious society. True, there has been no return to large-scale fighting. But remaining Christian Serbs are confined to NATO-protected enclaves for fear of endemic Muslim Albanian violence. A quarter of a million expellees — some two-thirds of the Serbs, Roma, Croats, and all the Jews — still cannot return safely to their homes. More than 150 Christian holy sites have been burned, blown up or desecrated. Organized crime is rampant, with allegations of corruption reaching into the upper levels of the U.N.-supervised local administration and unemployment outside these criminal elements remains more than 50 percent.

Even Albanian officials have expressed concern at the growth of radical Wahhabist influence, and the reality of a dangerously segregated society, as hundreds of Saudi-financed mosques have sprung up to replace the destroyed churches.

Although the situation on the ground in Kosovo has been a case study in U.N. mismanagement, there is no question of Kosovo's legal status as part of Serbia. U.N. Security Council Resolution 1244, which ended the 1999 war, reaffirmed Serbia's territorial integrity and sovereignty while calling for substantial autonomy and self-government for Kosovo within Serbia.

But against this clear standard for Kosovo's future, the U.S. State Department has insisted the only possible solution for Kosovo is not autonomy, but independence — even though Serbia refuses to give up 15 percent of its territory. Even worse, during his recent trip to Albania, President Bush suggested that if a Russian veto blocks any new Security Council Resolution to separate Kosovo from Serbia, the U.S. might take the lead in recognizing a unilateral declaration of Kosovo independence with no legitimate claim of authority at all. Within Europe itself there are growing misgivings and decisions about this course.

This is a terrible idea. To start with, our policy is in contravention of international laws and will create a dangerous precedent. Also, there is no reason to suppose an independent Kosovo would be a viable state, either economically or politically. Terrorist and organized crime influences, already rampant in Kosovo, would be granted a consolidated haven for their operations. Independence would likely be followed by renewed anti-Serb attacks, at least against the smaller enclaves, if not against Northern Mitrovica, where most of the remaining Serbs enjoy relative security. Unrest in neighboring Albanian-dominated areas of southern Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia, even Greece, could be reignited.

Perhaps most damaging, an imposed separation of Kosovo from Serbia would send a message to other trouble-spots, not just in the Balkans, that state borders are up for grabs.

The American relationship with Serbia would suffer badly if we insist on inflicting on a democratic country of 10 million people an offense they cannot accept and never will forget. An imposed separation of Kosovo, the cradle of Serbia's national and spiritual life, would alienate Serbs of all political stripes and could very well result in the implosion of Serbian democracy, with incalculable negative consequences. In short, an imposed independence of Kosovo could set the region back another decade.

As an original cosponsor of a House resolution calling for the U.S. to support a mutually agreed solution for the future status of Kosovo and reject an imposed solution, I believe we can no longer proceed on a policy that is trapped in assumptions formed years ago. Instead of an imposed preconceived outcome, any viable solution for Kosovo must result from give-and-take negotiations between Serbia and the Kosovo Albanians, balancing Serbia's legitimate concern for its sovereignty and the Albanians' legitimate right of self-governance.

It must be consistent with accepted international principles, including guarantees of both the territorial integrity of states as well as of human rights and self-determination. The U.S., the U.N., the European Union, Russia, or any other interested actor must not impose a solution on either of the parties, or bow to threats of violence if one of the parties' demands is not met.

As with any genuine negotiation, the eventual outcome cannot be foreseen with certainty. However, it is certain that unless we hit the reset button and reevaluate the situation, Kosovo may once again become a trouble-spot requiring American and NATO attention at a time we can least afford it. As Kosovo re-emerges from years of obscurity, we need now to take another serious look at America's options and long-term interests. As I stated before, the solution must come from negotiations between Serbia and Kosovo Albanians.

Dan Burton, Indiana Republican, is ranking member of the U.S. House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on the Western Hemisphere and serves on the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific.

This commentary can also be found at:

<http://www.washingtontimes.com/article/20070820/COMMENTARY/108200019/1012>

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Balkan Update

From: Balkan Update [balkanupdate@balkanupdate.net]

Sent: Friday, August 31, 2007 2:58 PM

Subject: Serbian delegation presents proposal regarding Kosovo status in Vienna

Serbian delegation presents proposal regarding Kosovo status in Vienna

Official Website of the Serbian Government

August 30, 2007

Vienna – The international troika of envoys comprising EU representative Wolfgang Ischinger, Russia Aleksandar Bocan Harchenko and the US Frank Wisner, and the delegation of the state negotiating team for talks on the future status of Kosovo-Metohija, held a meeting today in Vienna, within the framework of preparations for the new round of negotiations on the future status of Kosovo-Metohija.

The Serbian delegation, led by Serbian Minister for Kosovo-Metohija Slobodan Samardzic and Serbian Minister of Foreign Minister Vuk Jeremic, presented the plan for substantial autonomy for Kosovo-Metohija to the international mediators, in the premises of the Austrian Federal Ministry of European and International Affairs.

Jeremic said that agreement was reached with the troika of envoys that direct talks between Serbia and representatives of Kosovo Albanians should begin as soon as possible, and that they should be held in the margins of the UN General Assembly session in New York.

Jeremic said that it is very important that Belgrade and Pristina as well as the troika of envoys have agreed that peace should be the priority, and any threats of violence and statements pointing to that are not acceptable.

We are entering a delicate phase. We will try to find a solution based on compromise which will secure peace and a stable future for the West Balkans. Violence and threats of violence do not lead to that, stressed Jeremic.

Samardzic said that Serbia's view of the future status of Kosovo-Metohija was presented to the mediators.

We presented only the concept which is complex and which aims to find a solution to this problem. According to our plan Kosovo-Metohija would have wider jurisdiction than it had in former Yugoslavia, during the time of Slobodan Milosevic, and in the present constitutional framework, said Samardzic.

He said that Serbia's proposal is open to discussion. It is not in the form of "take it or leave it", rather Serbia will welcome the other side's participation in the negotiations.

We hope that our two principles, which we presented to the troika of envoys will be accepted. Firstly that we talk directly with Pristina, secondly that the subject of talks should be status and not other issues, which are also important, such as protection of cultural and religious heritage, said Samardzic.

EU representative Wolfgang Ischinger said that the atmosphere at the meetings with the Serbian delegation and Kosovo Albanians was constructive and friendly. He announced that the troika of envoys will meet with representatives of Belgrade and Pristina once again by the end of September, in the margins of the UN General Assembly session in New York.

Ischinger said that both sides reiterated that they will be dedicated to the process, which will conclude with a report by the troika of envoys to the UN Secretary General on December 10.

Earlier, the troika of envoys also met with the delegation of Kosovo Albanians in the premises of the Austrian Federal Ministry of European and International Affairs.

This story can also be found at: <http://www.srbija.sr.gov.yu/vesti/vest.php?id=37801>

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Balkan Update

From: Balkan Update [balkanupdate@balkanupdate.net]

Sent: Thursday, September 13, 2007 5:01 PM

Subject: Unilateral declaration of Kosovo-Metohija's independence would violate UN Charter and threaten peace, stability

Unilateral declaration of Kosovo-Metohija's independence would violate UN Charter and threaten peace, stability

Official Website of the Serbian Government

September 12, 2007

Serbian Prime Minister Vojislav Kostunica said today in Brussels after meeting with European Parliament President Hans-Gert Pöttering that Serbia is no threat to anyone and is facing a threat by some international political factors that they would unilaterally recognise declaration of Kosovo-Metohija's independence.

Kostunica, who is on a one-day visit to Brussels, said that Serbia is exposed to many threats of unilateral recognition of the province's independence and statements that if Kosovo does not get independent, Albanians will be displeased and will take weapons, noting that those are threats to Serbia, but also to basic documents of international law.

Serbia is worried after statements about unilateral recognition. We think that the international community and the EU should send a clear warning that any unilateral recognition of Kosovo-Metohija's independence not only is against UN Charter, but also stability of the region and the world in general, the Prime Minister said.

Kostunica said that he told Pöttering that Serbia is strongly in favour of negotiations, like it has been so far, and that we expect direct negotiations of Belgrade and Pristina at the end of September in New York.

Kostunica recalled that the EU founding charter supports the UN Charter and the Helsinki Charter when it comes to territorial integrity and sovereignty of states and that the Serbian position is that a compromise can easily be achieved if that principle is respected.

He added that Serbia prepared thorough and detailed institutional mechanisms for the functioning of essential autonomy for Kosovo-Metohija within Serbia, which would enable the province to develop freely without jeopardising Serbia's territorial integrity.

The Prime Minister stressed that the plan of Martti Ahtisaari failed as it was not adopted by the UN Security Council and because it disrespected the UN Charter.

Speaking on participation of Serbs in Kosovo-Metohija elections scheduled for November 17, Kostunica said that Belgrade will present official position today after consultations of the government with the Serbian President.

According to Kostunica, Kosovo-Metohija has not seen enough local, municipal reforms nor changes in the position of Serbs and other non-Albanians and return of IDPs as guaranteed by the UN SC Resolution 1244.

Pöttering said that there are 110 days more for negotiations and expressed hope that an agreement in the UN SC is still possible.

He stressed that European Parliament wants the stabilisation and association process with Serbia to be completed successfully but requires Ratko Mladic's handover to the Hague tribunal.

Following today's meeting with EU High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy Javier Solana he stressed that the negotiating process on the future status of Kosovo-Metohija must be concluded in the Security Council.

Kostunica pointed to the fact that the plan by Martti Ahtisaari, which was not approved a few months ago by the Security Council cannot be a basis for a successful solution in that body, and any solution outside the Security Council would have very dangerous consequences.

Solana said that the EU will refrain from issuing statements which could prejudice the outcome of negotiations on the Kosovo status issue, considering the fact that there is agreement among representatives of the EU, Russia and the US and the two sides that statements detrimental to the goal of negotiations should not be given during the negotiations.

He expressed the hope that a solution acceptable to all will be found, but added that the deadline for negotiations is December 11, when the troika of envoys will submit its report to UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon.

Solana and Kostunica also expressed satisfaction over conclusion of the process of negotiations between EU and Serbia on the Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA).

Solana stressed that he hopes that full cooperation will be realised with The Hague which is necessary for concluding the process of stabilisation and association with the EU, and added that soon, after visiting Belgrade, Chief Prosecutor Carla del Ponte will give her assessment of this cooperation.

Her previous reports were positive and I do not see why the next one should not be the same, said Solana.

Kostunica conveyed to Solana that Serbia is aware of its international obligations regarding the issue of the Hague tribunal and that a lot has been done on that question, and it is in Serbia's own interest to cooperate.

He said, however, that certain Hague indictees who were said to be in Serbia, were not at all in the territory of Serbia and as an example he mentioned the case of Vlastimir Djordjevic, who was arrested in Montenegro.

While in Brussels, Kostunica will also meet with European Commission President Jose Manuel Barroso.

The Prime Minister is accompanied by Minister for Kosovo-Metohija Slobodan Samardzic.

This story can also be found at: <http://www.srbija.sr.gov.yu/vesti/vest.php?id=38231>

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Balkan Update

From: Balkan Update [balkanupdate@balkanupdate.net]

Sent: Monday, September 24, 2007 5:43 PM

Subject: Interview with Prime Minister Kostunica on future status of Kosovo

Interview: Direct negotiations on future status of Kosovo the only right way to sustainable solution

Official Website of the Serbian Government

September 22, 2007

Belgrade – Serbian Prime Minister Vojislav Kostunica said today in an interview to daily “Vecernje Novosti” that direct negotiations on the future status of Kosovo are the only way to find a sustainable solution.

He said that previous talks were not direct talks since they focused on technical issues, while the status, which is the point of the negotiations and key to all other questions, has been neglected.

According to him, the status can be solved very easily if international order is respected, as well as the UN Charter which guarantees territorial integrity to every country, including Serbia.

What do you expect next week, after the meeting in New York:

- I expect that we will finally start talking about the status and that is when the power of Serbian arguments compared to Albanian ones will be much more visible. However, judging by the position of Albanians in London, they want to discuss not the question of Kosovo’s status within Serbia, but the post-status “good neighbourly relations”. This already shows what direction the talks will take. It is up to the new mediating “troika” to focus the talks on the right topic and that is the province's status.

Can Serbian arguments be stronger than Albanian:

- Our arguments are based on the firm legal foundation – the UN Charter. We offer a solution for the Albanian ethnic minority in Kosovo and that is the highest level of autonomy.

What are the points of touch between the positions of Belgrade and Pristina, since the Serbian side presented five crucial points of its programme in London, and the Albanians only one:

- Our position is that Serbia cannot be an exception to rules that are applied everywhere in the world. We offer the Albanian minority to decide about its future on all issues, but we will not let them interfere into the essence of our state, and that is its integrity and sovereignty.

Your opinion on the Albanian story of "good neighbourly relations", which is another name for independence:

- The Albanian proposal which treats Serbia and Kosovo-Metohija as two equal political entities is in line with their stubborn insistence on independence. Such a position is supported by one part of the international community. However, it shouldn't be forgotten that this position was already once rejected by the UN Security Council (SC). And if it was once examined and rejected by the UN, the same will happen the next time.

Since that proposal will not be put before the UN Security Council again, do you think that another strategy will be used this time – one-sided recognition of Kosovo's independence:

- Those who advocate the idea of independent Kosovo understood that they cannot realise that idea legally, through a new UN resolution. Permanent members have the right to veto and Russia took the principled stance that it will not allow that international law and the UN Charter are violated. So now there is a real danger that they will try to achieve their goal outside the Security Council. That is clear from the statement of UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon who said that the new process of negotiations would begin, but that the report would be delivered to him on December 10. So the scenario might be the following: since the two sides allegedly failed to reach an agreement by December 10, it is not possible to go to the Security Council again, so the solution is one-sided proclamation of Kosovo's independence.

What can Serbia do to prevent that scenario:

- At this moment the most important is to point to the devastating consequences of such violence which has never been recorded in the history of the United Nations. And we are constantly doing that. The US always repeat that if Serbia doesn't manage to convince the Albanians by December 10 to accept substantial autonomy, then Ahtisaari's plan would have to be applied. So Kosovo Albanians understood that they only have to wait for the given period to pass and prove that it is impossible to reach a compromise. But the problem is that one side, the Serbian, advocates the respect for the law, while the other, the Albanian, advocates its violation, with the help of great powers.

Do your warnings have any effects in the world since Europe is still divided on this issue and the warnings not to make one-sided moves are rather mild:

- They do, because it is obvious that it is not that easy to convince the entire European community that international law should be harshly violated. That is why I don't believe that the position of the US will be unanimously supported in Brussels. The European Union is based on principles whose foundation is the UN Charter. So everything boils down to the same and that is that this question must be decided in the Security Council because everything else would be violation of principles on which the United Nations are based.

Has Russia assured Serbia that it will support it after December 10:

- Russia is determined that international law must be respected. The fact is that Kosovo-Metohija has become an international topic which cannot be avoided at any important meeting. The idea was to snatch away Serbia's territory quickly, silently and in the dark, without anyone noticing it. But we managed to turn on the light on the big world stage and open up a big debate. We made a big move which must give results.

Is December 10 the end of the negotiations, or only a date when the negotiating "troika" is supposed to deliver the report to the SC:

- The realistic danger is that on December 10 Albanians will proclaim independence. If we read carefully the statement of Ban Ki-Moon, it can be concluded that December 10 is the deadline for submitting the report and not the end of the world. But Albanians clearly state that they will proclaim independence. The US officials don't even hide that they support them in that intention.

Washington undoubtedly stated that if no agreement is made, Ahtisaari's plan should be activated again on December 10:

- The moment Ahtisaari's plan was rejected in the SC, that is, when the US failed to turn it into a resolution, it ceased to exist. But the idea to use Ahtisaari's plan as a basis for one-sided proclamation of independence shows that implementation of Annex 11 of this plan is more important than the fate of Serbia and of the ethnic Albanian minority in the province. Annex 11 is crucial.

Does Serbia have a unique response in case Albanians declare independence on December 10:

- Generally speaking, Serbia will not accept that decision. Kosovo-Metohija will remain the integral part of Serbia. We will do everything to help Serbs in Kosovo keep the faith that they are still part of Serbia, that the state has not given up on them. Not only symbolically, but in practice as well.

How will Serbia achieve that:

- All state institutions will treat Serbs from Kosovo as equal citizens of Serbia with full rights and we will do everything that their life conditions are not different from those of other Serbian citizens.

Is there a possibility that Serbian forces return to Kosovo to protect the Serbian people there:

- The part of Resolution 1244 that envisages return of Serbian forces to the province, as well as the one concerning the return of the displaced and safety of the remaining Serbs, have never been realised. Therefore, not even the existing document has been realised in its most important part, and they already want to make a new one. I believe that international forces in Kosovo will complete their mission, although that has not been the case so far.

Are there plans to send the Serbian army to Kosovo-Metohija in case of proclamation of independence?

- Right now we are thinking how to prevent the one-sided proclamation. If that occurs, links with our people there will in no way be broken.

What position will Serbia take towards the states that recognize independence:

- I believe that we must single out the main actor without whom there wouldn't be the story about independence at all. That is the NATO. The discussion has been opened on the gist of Ahtisaari's plan and its Annex 11, which deals with unlimited military power of NATO in Kosovo-Metohija. And before Ahtisaari, NATO bombed Serbia, then entered with its forces a part of its territory, and now it wants to be the supreme power in Kosovo-Metohija through one-sided independence and enforcement of Annex 11.

Is that connected with Serbia's accession into the EU:

- It is not connected in any way. We never bring into question Serbia's European integration. Besides, several EU member states are not part of the NATO. That is not a condition. After all, the people will have to say what they think about that organisation. We had too many victims in Serbia's wars so as to make new victims, by joining NATO, for someone else's interest and in other continents. Serbia has suffered enough so as to take part in confrontations all around the world and have more victims. It is completely certain that not a single Serbian soldier will go to Iraq or Afghanistan. "Partnership for Peace" is the right measure of cooperation with the NATO and Serbia should establish the policy of military neutrality.

This story can also be found at: <http://www.srbija.sr.gov.yu/vesti/vest.php?id=38725>

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Balkan Update

From: Balkan Update [balkanupdate@balkanupdate.net]

Sent: Friday, October 05, 2007 12:33 PM

Subject: Serbian Prime Minister Vojislav Kostunica Address to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe

Serbian Prime Minister Vojislav Kostunica Address to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe

Official Website of the Serbian Government

October 2, 2007

Serbian Prime Minister Kostunica:

Mr President,
Honourable Members of the Parliamentary Assembly,
Mr Secretary General,
Ladies and gentlemen,

I wish to express thanks to President of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe Renee van der Linden for the honour granted to me to address you as Prime Minister of Serbia at the time when my country is holding the chairmanship of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe.

Serbia took over the Chairmanship of the Committee of Ministers in May and decided to focus primarily on the fundamental values of the Council of Europe – human rights, democracy and the rule of law – as the three pillars

that are the foundations of European societies. This is why the slogan of Serbia's Chairmanship "One Europe – Our Europe" expresses our belief that all the European states and all peoples wish Europe to be one and to speak with a single voice in showing full respect for the mentioned three crucial values.

In my today's address, honourable Members of the Parliamentary Assembly, I wish, first of all, to stress that the authorities of Serbia have been working assiduously and persistently, before anything else, to ensure implementation of human rights, democracy and the rule of law. This is certainly best borne out by the adoption of the new Constitution of Serbia that passed the test at a referendum, was approved by the will of the people and fulfilled even the most difficult requirement that over 50 percent of registered voters should vote in favour for the proposed Constitution to be adopted. In addition, the Assembly of Serbia adopted the document unanimously, which bears witness to full democratic, political and national consensus on the new Constitution in Serbia.

I am anxious to point out that the Venice Commission for Democracy through Law held the explicit view in its Opinion that the new Constitution "reflects the democratic ideals of the new Serbia". The text of the Constitution in 63 out of the total of its 206 articles contains the provisions specifically concerning human and minority rights and liberties. In this context, with respect to the national minorities we hold that it is particularly important to point to the provisions which ban discrimination on any grounds and prohibit incitement of religious, racial and national hatred. I also wish to mention in particular the Articles of the Constitution prohibiting violent assimilation and promoting development of the spirit of tolerance, the provisions on the obligation to have national minorities represented on local and provincial government bodies as well as the provisions requiring that account be taken of the national make-up of the population in employing people in the public administration. The Constitution further says that, in addition to the rights guaranteed to all the citizens of Serbia, the minorities are

guaranteed certain additional rights that can be placed under the heading of positive discrimination, such as the right to elect national minority councils.

I wish to inform you, ladies and gentlemen, that not only the letter of the Serbian Constitution but also legal provisions and actual practices have largely surpassed the rights and guarantees provided for by the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. There are local and provincial printed and electronic media which broadcast in minority languages and in the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, for example, persons belonging to the Hungarian national minority can receive tuition in their own language at around 80 primary and 30 secondary schools as well as at several universities in Novi Sad, Subotica and Belgrade.

I should like to especially highlight the fact that the leaders of national minorities and the highest representatives of all religious communities in Serbia strongly supported the adoption of the new Constitution. Thus, in the multi-ethnic town of Novi Pazar, where Bosniaks account for a considerable majority, an exceptionally high number of citizens took part at the referendum. This best attests to the character of the new Constitution but also to the trust that the national minorities have today in the state of Serbia. This confidence has been built thanks to a number of specific actions the Serbian Government has undertaken in order to improve the overall status and enhance the participation of persons belonging to the national minorities in public affairs.

All this, honourable Members of the Parliamentary Assembly, goes to prove Serbia's full commitment for and participation in the building of the three very fundamental European values: human rights, democracy and the rule of law. It is precisely in the implementation of these values that Serbia sees a solution to the biggest problem that exists in present-day Europe, namely the issue of the future status of the province of Kosovo-Metohija.

You will be fully aware that the new negotiation process mediated by the international Troika is underway and that direct talks took place between Belgrade and the representatives of Kosovo Albanians several days ago. It is quite natural, given that the negotiations are in progress, for us to talk openly at this oldest European institution and, I am convinced, to jointly support only a democratic and compromise solution.

I wish to explicitly re-assert for you today that Serbia is, indeed, committed without any reserve, to a democratic solution which will be based on the very same three pillars that form the foundations of Europe itself - human rights, democracy and the rule of law. Accordingly, Serbia called on both the Albanian side and the international community in New York to commit themselves not to resort to violent and unilateral solutions: we firmly hold that everyone concerned must act only in favour of a negotiated democratic settlement.

And it is precisely the Council of Europe, which itself rests on the mentioned three fundamental values and is duty-bound to safeguard them, that can help us find a way of reaching a democratic solution. This is precisely why during the course of the New York talks Serbia proceeded from the crucial issue of respect and guarantees of the rights of the Albanian national minority in the province of Kosovo-Metohija. The essence of the problem we are facing is how to settle the status of the Albanian national minority in the province democratically and in line with international law.

Serbia's proposal that we presented in New York is that Serbia is ready to guarantee to the Albanian national minority the status of the most-favoured national minority existing anywhere in the world today. The constitutional guarantee for such a status would be secured in the form of functional and substantive autonomy of the Province of Kosovo-Metohija within Serbia.

I trust you will agree that such a proposal of Serbia can only have as its goal full and free development and prosperity of Kosovo Albanians and is by no means motivated by any intention on the part of Belgrade to limit or in any way curtail the Albanians' rights in the Province. Of course, like any other sovereign and internationally recognized state, Serbia cannot allow the Albanian national minority to create a state within a state and to form another Albanian state in the Balkan region. You know best, ladies and gentlemen, that no national minority anywhere in the world has that right and I am asking you why only the Albanian national minority and only in Serbia should enjoy such a right.

I wish you also to know that Serbia in New York called the Albanian side as well as the international community to work together with us on determining the most-favoured national minority status and see together which particular rights are currently exercised by national minorities in the world and in what way, and then to use this as a reliable criterion for settling the dispute.

It is very important for me to inform you that today we are at a turning point where it is primarily the international community that must take a decision which of the two pathways to opt for in tackling the issue of the fortunes of the province of Kosovo-Metohija and, by the same token, the fortunes of Serbia. One of these pathways that I have already spoken about leads to a democratic solution based on the European values of respect for human rights, democracy and the rule of law. The second pathway leads to a highly risky zone of setting the most dangerous precedent since the end of World War Two and allowing a national minority, at the cost of grossly violating a valid Security Council resolution as well as the UN Charter and the Helsinki Final Act, to form its new state on the territory of a sovereign and internationally recognized state.

It is my duty to draw your attention here to the two arguments invoked in favour of this second extremely dangerous pathway, fully in the spirit of legal violence and the policy of pursuing a unilateral solution. Thus, one can hear from the top-ranking international officials that unless a solution is identified speedily, the peace in the Province may be put in jeopardy, which is immediately echoed by Albanian terrorists who send word that they will resort to massive violence unless Kosovo is granted independence. This type of arguments would not deserve any comment had we heard at least once a single clear message from the international community to the effect that such threats, rather than be rewarded by granting a state, must be most severely sanctioned.

The second reason for moving along the pathway of legal violence and dismembering Serbia should be looked for in the contents of Annex 11 of the rejected Ahtisaari plan. It was more than telling how all the Albanian representatives in New York repeated again and again that they would fully apply Ahtisaari's plan although everybody was aware that that plan is not on the agenda at all. In other words, the Albanians are hoping that, for the sake of implementing Annex 11 and thus achieving their geo-strategic, military and security interests, certain big powers would agree to recognize unilaterally declared independence.

The Members of this august Assembly should know that Annex 11 of Ahtisaari's plan envisages no clear civilian control over the international military presence in Kosovo in the form of NATO forces, which would constitute yet another unheard-of precedent since the democratic world was built. We are facing the risk that the application of Annex 11 would be more important than identifying a democratic solution, outweighing the destiny of Kosovo, the destiny of Serbia and even the destiny of the entire region.

The two pathways leading to a solution to the Kosovo problem outlined here deserve of us to stop and think them over. What I wish to tell you is that you can rest fully assured that, in keeping with the UN Charter and its own Constitution, Serbia will not abandon the quest for a democratic solution just as it is

most resolutely rejecting even a mere thought that it could allow, for any reason and at any time, the making of a new Albanian state on its territory through legal violence, the pursuit of the policy of force and by unilateral steps. I assure you it is impossible to impose a solution on Serbia and that any possible unilaterally declared independence would prove to be unsustainable. Unilaterally declared independence would only aggravate the problem and then end up in failure, which would bring us back to the point where we would have to search together for a democratic and sustainable solution all over again.

It should, regrettably, also be borne in mind that there is a real threat that particular countries, and even European ones, would opt for blatant violation of the valid Security Council resolution 1244, which is binding on all the Governments and which explicitly guarantees Serbia's sovereignty and territorial integrity, and would be prepared to recognize a unilateral act of Albanian separatists on the independence of the Province. Here, at the Council of Europe, we must pose the most natural possible question which is the following: if certain European states opt today to violate resolution 1244, what can prevent any European state tomorrow from violating yet another Security Council resolution if such a violation is mandated by its interests? The real question is whether all those taking decisions today have taken into account all the consequences that could arise in Europe and elsewhere in the world as a result of use of legal violence and blatant violation of international law and the universally binding UN resolutions?

At first sight it may appear that it is easier to cut things short even at the cost of blatantly violating the norms and values underpinning our present-day world. However, all the countries taking this shortsighted approach should bear in mind that as early as tomorrow they themselves could be faced with a similar threat. In this context, we all known full well, as we have learnt lessons based on European and global historic experience, that any violence and breaking of universal rules, and especially those that cause a sovereign country to be dismembered, will inevitably produce grave and tragic consequences.

Let us ask ourselves, honourable Members of Parliament, how many separatist-minded national minorities in today's world are watching attentively how the issue of the Albanian national minority in Kosovo will be settled. How should one explain to them tomorrow that there are first-grade national minorities that are allowed to form states, and second-grade national minorities that are not permitted to do so? And, most importantly, would they be prepared reconcile themselves to such an unprincipled position or would numerous new problems arise through formation of new states riven by conflicts and presenting persistent threats to peace and stability.

I wish to voice my conviction that nobody should stay calm when faced with the fact that it is precisely in Europe - so very proud of its achievements in terms of respect for the rule of law, democracy and human rights - that certain countries are thinking of dismembering a sovereign and internationally recognized country by virtue of legal violence and by means of a unilateral solution. We have also seen a powerful non-European country assure us that we should regulate our affairs at the heart of Europe through the use of violence and through direct violation of the UN Charter and arguing that such an action would not constitute a precedent but rather a regular and normal state of affairs.

Common sense is warning us that we should stick to time-tested values and not abandon a democratic solution by any means. Europe's experience is too vast and its commitment to persevere in the quest for a democratic solution too strong for us to dare give in to pressures and too readily engage in undermining the foundations on which the entire international order is based today.

If Serbia were to yield under such pressure and agree to take part in the making of another Albanian state on its own territory, it would thus take over gravest possible responsibility for all the far-reaching consequences of such an action. For, who is more called upon than Serbia itself to fight for adherence to

universal rules when its territorial integrity and its province of Kosovo-Metohija are at stake? By consistently acting as we do, we have earned the right to call on you as well to stand in defense of the highest European values so that we do not allow legal violence to take precedence over a democratic solution at the heart of Europe, in Kosovo-Metohija.

Nobody has told us yet to this very date what might be wrong in our proposal and why Kosovo should be granted independence. What are the arguments that can challenge Belgrade's offer on the status of the most-favoured national minority? Are there any arguments at all, and what are the legal grounds for taking away 15 percent of Serbia's territory in order to create the second Albanian state in the Balkan region? How come the rejected Ahtisaari's proposal does not contain even a single word in terms of a legal explanation for such a solution? Lastly, how come nobody has yet thought of at least a single argument in favour of Kosovo's independence except unless we consider as such an explanation the often quoted expression 'this is a reality'?

Honourable Members of the Parliamentary Assembly,

The only reality recognized by Serbia is the duty of all the countries of the world to respect the UN Charter and to act in line with the values underpinning post-war Europe. Respect for that reality has brought peace, stability and prosperity to Europe. Rest assured that Serbia will do everything in its power to have this reality applied throughout its territory by means of a democratic solution, and rest equally assured that Serbia will never accept the reality of the policy of force or recognize any unilaterally declared independence for the Province.

Serbia, honourable Members of Parliamentary Assembly, rightfully expects your support in achieving a democratic and negotiated settlement for the future status of Serbian Province of Kosovo-Metohija. We remain convinced that by defending law and justice, the UN Charter, the order of present-day world and European democratic values we are not thinking only of our own future, and that by doing so Serbia is not defending only its own sovereignty and dignity.

This story can also be found at: <http://www.srbija.sr.gov.yu/vesti/vest.php?id=39095>

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Balkan Update

From: Balkan Update [balkanupdate@balkanupdate.net]

Sent: Thursday, October 11, 2007 3:58 PM

Subject: Kosovo status issue to be resolved exclusively in Security Council

Kosovo status issue to be resolved exclusively in Security Council

Official Website of the Serbian Government

October 11, 2007

Belgrade – Serbian Prime Minister Vojislav Kostunica rejected today the possibility of resolving the issue of the future status of Kosovo-Metohija in an international conference and reiterated that only the UN Security Council has jurisdiction over this issue.

In a statement to the news agency Tanjug, Kostunica stressed that the issue of the future status of Kosovo-Metohija must be resolved only in accordance with the Resolution 1244 and that excludes the possibility that Serbia could accept transferring the process of resolving this issue from the Security Council to an international conference.

Kostunica reiterated that any solution approved by the Security Council must certainly be in accordance with law and the UN Charter since it is unimaginable that the Security Council could bring the decision to seize the territory of an internationally recognised state.

Serbia and Russia have a joint principled policy which is founded on full respect of international law and this is the best guarantee that the UN Charter will never be violated in the Security Council when it comes to the question of Serbia's territorial integrity.

This article can also be found at: <http://www.srbija.sr.gov.yu/vesti/vest.php?id=39464>

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Balkan Update

From: Balkan Update [balkanupdate@balkanupdate.net]

Sent: Monday, November 05, 2007 4:17 PM

Subject: Prime Minister Kostunica: Stable, sustainable and functional solution for Kosovo must be found

Stable, sustainable and functional solution for Kosovo must be found

Official Website of the Serbian Government

November 5, 2007

Vienna – Serbian Prime Minister Vojislav Kostunica said today at the talks on the future status of Kosovo-Metohija held in Vienna that Serbia is ready for serious talks and that it wants essential issues to be discussed thoroughly, sincerely hoping that that would help make a significant step forward in finding a solution based on agreement.

The Serbian government's official website brings the speech in full.

"Honourable gentlemen,

The fact that in this round of negotiations Serbia is represented by its top-level officials clearly attests to our readiness and resolve to make a serious step forward in our today's discussion towards coming to a democratic and compromise solution to the future status of the province of Kosovo-Metohija.

Right from the start of the negotiations Serbia at every meeting has been consistently presenting some new arguments and new ideas on how to arrive at an agreement. Wishing to re-assert our constructive approach, we today, too, stand ready to offer to the Kosovo Albanians to examine together a number of very important issues, which could bring us closer to a compromise and hopefully to an agreement.

If the representatives of the Albanian side still do not wish to discuss Serbia's proposals and reject even such a possibility, we are ready to open the discussion by raising a number of stands that they themselves have been advocating.

In the course of the discussions so far one could notice three types of stands presented by Kosovo Albanians. The first one includes the Albanian view according to which Serbia has not been administering its province of Kosovo-Metohija for as long as 8 years now. The second type includes the claim that it is necessary to identify a stable, sustainable and functional solution. There is, finally, also the third type of Albanian stands which amount to saying that Serbia's proposal on substantial autonomy is a thing of the past. One should add to this third group of positions the Albanian objection, shared by a part of the international community, that Serbia's proposal on substantial autonomy allegedly exists only on paper, that it is too abstract, that it is not lifelike, that it is vague and is, ipso facto, both unsustainable and unfunctional.

Serbia, on this occasion, fully agrees that all these are substantial topics and that it is necessary for us to examine them together carefully. Let us start from the Albanian position that Serbia has not been governing its province of Kosovo-Metohija for as many as 8 years, a point raised by the Kosovo Albanians as an important argument in support of the Province's independence. Here, however, a crucial question is raised which is as follows: Is the fact that the UN mission has been governing Kosovo-Metohija for 8 years an argument in favour of defining the substantial autonomy for the Albanian national minority in the Province, or should this same fact rather be used as a decisive argument for dismembering Serbia which is a democratic state and a member of the United Nations?

After all, the United Nations did not come to Kosovo-Metohija to have a new state formed on the territory of an internationally recognized state and a member of those self-same United Nations, but to use its mandate in order to make it possible to identify, through compromise, a future status for the Province subject to full respect for international law, the UN Charter and Resolution 1244.

We point out - and would like to discuss this - that there is an example of a province having been beyond the administration of its state not for 8 but for over a hundred years. Moreover, that administration was not under a UN mandate but indeed a colonial rule. So, not after 8 but after more than a hundred years a negotiated solution was found for the territory of Hong Kong which got the status of a special administrative area but under the clear sovereignty of China and within its territorial integrity.

We hold the view that we can all agree that this argument deserves to be comprehensively examined and incorporated in the future process of identifying a joint solution.

The second stand that we need to discuss concerns the necessity of identifying a stable, sustainable and functional solution to the status of the Province. To claim that dismemberment of Serbia and altering its internationally recognized borders contrary to its will shall bring peace, stability, sustainability and functionality in determining a solution to the future status of Kosovo and Metohija seems neither convincing nor justified nor indeed reasonable. Since I have already mentioned the example and the context for a negotiated solution to the status of Hong Kong, we could additionally make use of that analogy, all the more so as the mentioned agreement has been reached recently, i.e. no more than 10 years ago.

Stability, sustainability and functionality of the model applied in the case of Hong Kong emanate from the fact that the agreement was reached through negotiations, while recognizing a fundamental principle underpinning the modern international order, and that is respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity of internationally recognized states. Equally, the case of Hong Kong is a good example showing that a stable and good solution can by no means be arrived at through unilateral actions but only through negotiations and only provided there is respect for the UN Charter and its fundamental principles. The moment unilateral steps take place is the very moment when stability, sustainability and, along with them, every kind of functionality disappear and when chronic hotbeds emerge instead, the crisis exacerbates and a serious instability is created.

We should devote particular attention to the third type of Albanian stands that are, as already indicated, shared to a certain extent by a part of the international community. Namely, does Belgrade's proposal on substantial autonomy exist only on paper, is it really a completely abstract model which one does not know what it means, could it be sustained in reality at all and, thus, is it functional? Having heard a stand formulated this way we respond by readily accepting to discuss this and seeing together what the situation is precisely in reality, in real life, on the ground and not on paper.

We propose that, by following the already established analogy, we should examine in parallel and compare Serbia's paper on substantial autonomy for Kosovo-Metohija and the negotiated solution to the status of Hong Kong as a special administrative area within China. Our argument, which we would like to discuss, is that the Hong Kong model, which nobody will deny has proved a success, sustainable, stable and functional, is in itself a clear proof that our proposal on substantial autonomy is equally lifelike and secures a stable and sustainable solution to the status of the Province.

We are strongly convinced that there is no serious reason why we should not compare, in the further course of the negotiation process, Serbia's proposal on substantial autonomy with the negotiated

solution reached in the analogous case of Hong Kong. In this way we could assess together whether the idea of substantial autonomy is indeed just a paper proposal having nothing to do with real life or whether it is, after all, a realistic scenario for the solution to the future set-up of the Province.

We hold that this is an irrefutable proof of Serbia's constructive and very responsible approach to the negotiation process. We wish in this manner to jointly examine the key elements of a possible agreement. There can be no doubt that these are sustainability, stability, functionality, vitality and the prospect of prosperity. What is particularly important is that such an approach takes us to an agreement rather than to unilateral moves and, above all, to an agreement which would be in keeping with international law, the UN Charter, Resolution 1244, the Helsinki Final Act and the Constitution of Serbia.

Since the Albanian side has so far been refusing to talk over Serbia's proposal, if Pristina once again turned a deaf ear to the offer to discuss these mentioned stands that have come precisely from the Albanian side, I believe that one could only conclude that the Kosovo Albanians do not care about a negotiated solution and that this is why they are in principle rejecting every and any dialogue.

For its part, Serbia is ready to engage in a serious discussion and wishes to examine thoroughly the crucial topics broached here, sincerely believing that we would in this way make an important step towards a negotiated solution.

Allow me to recapitulate: in its constructive approach, Belgrade is today ready to cede to Kosovo Albanians the broadest autonomy and the highest degree of self-government enjoyed by any national minority anywhere in the world. As has been seen so far - and this is, in fact, where the actual difference lies between the position of Belgrade and that of Kosovo Albanians in these negotiations - for Serbia there is a whole set of solution scenarios, on the only proviso that the universal principle of inviolability of borders is respected and that the sovereignty of internationally recognized states is not encroached upon.

Such an approach, honourable gentlemen, can on no grounds be placed on a par with the refusal to discuss anything but independence for Kosovo-Metohija, as set out in the Albanian proposed agreement on future good relations between two neighbouring states. And, therefore, with the full support of the state institutions and the entire general public of Serbia, I repeat that at the present point of time Serbia is offering to Kosovo Albanians more than has ever been offered to any national minority on the territory of any country. But this is indeed the final limit, beyond which not only Serbia but no other state in the world could possibly go. Anything else would be nothing but the violation of international law and of the basic regulations on which the order of present-day world rests. A possible unlawful and brutal violation of sovereignty and territorial integrity of an internationally recognized democratic state would only be a drastic instant of the policy of force and surely could not remain without consequences which are bound to be felt - let us be fully aware of that - not only in the immediate regional environment. Therefore, gentlemen, let us seize this opportunity to take the path of compromise and mutual concessions, the path of peace, of common sense and of justice for all", the Serbian Prime Minister concluded.

This article can also be found at: http://www.srbija.sr.gov.yu/?change_lang=en

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Balkan Update

From: Balkan Update [balkanupdate@balkanupdate.net]

Sent: Tuesday, November 06, 2007 4:52 PM

Subject: Negotiating team prepares comparative presentation of Serbia's model of autonomy for Kosovo and example of Hong Kong

Negotiating team prepares comparative presentation of Serbia's model of autonomy for Kosovo and example of Hong Kong

Official Website of the Serbian Government

November 6, 2007

Belgrade – Serbian Prime Minister Vojislav Kostunica said today that for the next meeting of delegations of Belgrade and Pristina which will take place on November 20 in Brussels, the Serbian state negotiating team will prepare a proposal with the comparative presentation of Serbia's model of substantial autonomy for Kosovo-Metohija and the example of Hong Kong.

Kostunica told Tanjug news agency that at the meeting in Brussels it must be determined which solution secures stability, sustainability, functionality and prosperity so that a compromise solution could be reached.

With a comparative presentation of our model of substantial autonomy and the solution for the status of Hong Kong based on agreement within China, we will show to Brussels that the highest level of autonomy for the province of Kosovo-Metohija is concrete, realistic and the best solution, the Serbian Prime Minister underlined.

We are convinced that during the next talks in Brussels we will offer strong arguments and evidence that that is the road that can lead us to an agreement, Kostunica stressed and added that the most important thing is that such an agreement would be in full conformity with the UN Charter and the Serbian Constitution.

We see a solution based on agreement as a way for fulfilling essential interests of Serbia and essential interests of the Albanian national minority in Kosovo-Metohija. The talks in which parallels between the proposal of substantial autonomy for Kosovo and the solution for Hong Kong would be examined can show that that is possible, the Serbian Prime Minister concluded.

This article can also be found at: http://www.srbija.sr.gov.yu/?change_lang=en

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Balkan Update

From: Balkan Update [balkanupdate@balkanupdate.net]

Sent: Friday, November 09, 2007 5:48 PM

Subject: Serbia takes initiative in negotiations on Kosovo status issue

Serbia takes initiative in negotiations on Kosovo status issue

Official Website of the Serbian Government

November 8, 2007

Belgrade – Serbian Prime Minister Vojislav Kostunica stressed in talks with Irish Foreign Minister Dermot Ahern that Serbia took the initiative in negotiations on the future status of Kosovo-Metohija and proposed to prepare a comparative presentation of Serbia's model of substantial autonomy and the solution for the status of Hong Kong within China.

Kostunica stressed that this is an important step for Serbia towards a viable and practical solution based on compromise which would be in accordance with the UN Charter, UN Security Council Resolution 1244 and the Serbian Constitution.

In future, Serbia will strongly insist on such a solution since it can protect basic state and national interests of Serbia, while at the same time safeguarding the interests of the ethnic Albanian minority in the province, said Kostunica.

Ahern said that it is important that a solution based on compromise is found through dialogue between the two sides. He pointed to the fact that negotiations should not be limited by deadlines since it is important to find the best possible solution to secure stability.

They agreed at the meeting that relations between Serbia and Ireland are good and there is a possibility for improving economic relations.

Kostunica said that the Irish model is significant for Serbia, as well as the country's experience in attracting foreign investments. Ahern noted that Serbia has made major economic progress and is proving to be of great interest to foreign investors.

This article can also be found at: http://www.srbija.sr.gov.yu/?change_lang=en

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Balkan Update

From: Balkan Update [balkanupdate@balkanupdate.net]

Sent: Thursday, November 15, 2007 5:49 PM

Subject: Serbia tries hard to reach compromise solution for Kosovo-Metohija

Serbia tries hard to reach compromise solution for Kosovo-Metohija

Official Website of the Serbian Government

November 13, 2007

Belgrade/Budapest – Serbian Prime Minister Vojislav Kostunica said today in Budapest that from the very beginning of the talks on the Kosovo-Metohija future status, as well as today when they are drawing to a close, Serbia has been trying hard to reach a compromise solution respectful of the fundamental principle of international law – the respect of territorial integrity and sovereignty of internationally recognised states.

At the joint press conference following a meeting with Hungarian Prime Minister Ferenc Gyurcsany, Kostunica stressed that as for the solution to the province's future status, Serbia will stick to the UN Charter, UN Security Council Resolution 1244, the Helsinki Act and its own Constitution which states that Kosovo-Metohija is an integral part of Serbia.

He stressed that any decision in contravention of these documents will breach the Serbian Constitution and added that if the province unilaterally declares independence, Serbia will annihilate that decision and together with the Serbian President and Parliament he will decide on the steps they will take.

Kostunica disapproved of the situation in which a country is forced to choose between respecting the law and breaking it and reiterated that the solution to the Kosovo issue must be the widest possible autonomy for the province without any alteration of borders.

He warned that the issue of Kosovo-Metohija is not only a regional or an EU problem, but is also important at the global level.

The Prime Minister said he acquainted Gyurcsany with Serbia's stance and efforts to reach a compromise solution and recalled that Belgrade has always advocated the proposal of substantial autonomy.

Kostunica emphasised that Serbia has done everything to reach that solution, whereas the Albanian side has done very little, almost nothing.

According to him, Serbia will keep doing its best to reach compromise, and noted that this is most easily attained with the respect of international law.

He also stated that he and Gyurcsany discussed economic cooperation between Serbia and Hungary, infrastructure development, as well as the improvement of the position of national minorities in both countries.

He said that there is a small Serbian minority in Hungary, whereas in Serbia there is a much more numerous Hungarian national minority, which serve as a basis for good relations. However, a lot can be done on the improvement of their position.

Gyuresany said to the press that Hungary participates in the formation of a unique EU stance on the resolution of future status of Kosovo-Metohija. He underlined that his country wishes that Belgrade and Pristina reach a compromise that would be a basis for the future solution.

He said that it is very important that all participants in the talks understand that no progress can be made by taking unilateral steps, but that it is necessary to look for allies and compromise, in which it is of crucial importance that Belgrade and Pristina reach an agreement.

The Hungarian Prime Minister said that main topics of the talks with Kostunica were bilateral relations, economic cooperation and the position of national minorities in both countries.

He said that relations between Serbia and Hungary have been intensified in the past several years, but that it is necessary to improve them.

An official reception was made today in Budapest for the Serbian Prime Minister at the Kossuth Square in front of the Hungarian parliament building.

Kostunica also spoke with Hungarian President Laszlo Solyom and parliament Speaker Katalin Szili, after which he laid wreaths to the monument of Unknown hero at the Square of the Heroes and visited the Serbian Orthodox Church of St. George in Budapest.

The Serbian Prime Minister also participated in a meeting of the Danubian Commission, which on behalf of Serbia was presided over by Serbian Ambassador to Hungary Milovan Bozinovic. Kostunica visited the Tekeljanum building, the endowment of Sava Tekelija in Budapest.

This article can also be found at: http://www.srbija.sr.gov.yu/?change_lang=en

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Balkan Update

From: Balkan Update [balkanupdate@balkanupdate.net]
Sent: Wednesday, November 21, 2007 4:30 PM
Subject: Serbian team presents comparative analysis of substantial autonomy models of Hong Kong, Oland Islands, Kosovo-Metohija
Attachments: Comparative Overview of the Cases of Hong Kong, Åland Islands, and the Serbian Status Proposal for Kosovo and Metohija.pdf

Serbian team presents comparative analysis of substantial autonomy models of Hong Kong, Oland Islands, Kosovo-Metohija

Official Website of the Serbian Government

November 20, 2007

Belgrade/Brussels – The Serbian state negotiating team presented in Brussels today a comparative analysis of the substantial autonomy model of Hong Kong, Oland Islands and Kosovo-Metohija, as well as functional solutions in line with the UN Charter and fundamental principles of the respect of sovereignty and territorial integrity of internationally recognised states.

The comparative analysis demonstrates the universal character of the substantial autonomy model and its functionality and sustainability in different parts of the world.

Republic of Serbia

State negotiating team for Kosovo-Metohija

20 November 2007

Comparative Overview of the Cases of Hong Kong, Åland Islands, and the Serbian Status Proposal for Kosovo and Metohija

	Hong Kong	Åland Islands	Kosovo and Metohija
Basic features of the Cases	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 1997 returned to China's sovereignty – after 155 years of British colonial rule • Ethnic majority – Chinese (95%) • <i>HK Basic Law</i> stemming out from the 1984 <i>Sino-British Joint Declaration</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • After Russo-Swedish War (1808-1809) Russia gains Finland and Ål • Ethnic majority – Swedish (95%) • In 1917 Finland independent • After 1917, 96,2% of adult population signed the petition for unification with Sweden • In 1921 the League of Nations decides that Ål remains within the sovereignty of Finland, with a high degree of 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Since June 1999 (8 years) under UN administration • Ethnic majority – Albanian (81%) • Current constitutional-legal framework: <i>UN SC Res 1244, Constitution of Serbia, and Constitutional Framework for Provisional Self-Government in Kosovo</i> • Proposal: internationally guaranteed status

		<p>autonomy</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Current constitutional-legal framework: <i>Act on the Autonomy of Åland</i> in accordance with Article 120 of the <i>Constitution of Finland</i> 	<p>agreement on KM, new <i>UN SC Res, Constitution of Serbia</i>, and <i>Constitution of KM</i>; 20-years timeframe</p>
Constitutional-Legal Definition of Territory	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Upholding national unity and territorial integrity and taking account of the history of HK and its realities, the PRC has decided to establish, in accordance with the provisions of Article 31 of the Constitution of the PRC, a HK Special Administrative Region upon resuming the exercise of sovereignty over HK. (Sino-British Joint Declaration, Article 3.1) • The HK Special Administrative Region will be directly under the authority of the Central People's Government of the PRC. The HK Special Administrative Region will enjoy a high degree of autonomy, except in foreign and defence affairs which are the responsibilities of the Central People's Government. (Sino-British Joint Declaration, Article 3.2) • The state may establish special administrative regions when necessary. The systems to be instituted in special administrative regions shall be prescribed by law enacted by the National People's Congress in the light of 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The sovereignty of the ÅI is recognised to belong to Finland. (Decision of the Council of the League of Nations on the ÅI, Article 1) • The territory of Finland is indivisible. The national borders can not be altered without the consent of the Parliament. (Constitution of Finland, Section 4) • The ÅI have self-government in accordance with what is specifically stipulated in the Act on the Autonomy of the ÅI. (Constitution of Finland, Section 120) • The ÅI are autonomous, as hereby enacted. (Act on the Autonomy of Åland, Section 1) • Åland comprises the territory it has at the time of the entry into force of this Act and the territorial waters directly adjacent to its land territory according to the enactments in force on the limits of the territorial waters of Finland. If the jurisdiction and sovereignty of the State are extended beyond the limits of the territorial waters the jurisdiction and sovereignty of Åland may be likewise extended, as agreed by 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • [...] the Province of Kosovo and Metohija is an integral part of the territory of Serbia, that it has the status of a substantial autonomy within the sovereign state of Serbia and that from such status of the Province of Kosovo and Metohija follow constitutional obligations of all state bodies to uphold and protect the state interests of Serbia in Kosovo and Metohija in all internal and foreign political relations [...] (Constitution of Serbia, Preamble) • In the Republic of Serbia, there are the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina and the Autonomous Province of Kosovo and Metohija. The substantial autonomy of the Autonomous province of Kosovo and Metohija shall be regulated by the special law which shall be adopted in accordance with the proceedings envisaged for amending the Constitution. (Constitution of Serbia, Article 182.2) • Reaffirming the commitment of all Member States to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Federal

	<p>the specific conditions. (PRC Constitution, Article 31)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The HK Special Administrative Region is an inalienable part of the PRC. (HK Basic Law, Article 1) 	<p>the State and Åland. (Act on the Autonomy of Åland, Section 2)</p>	<p>Republic of Yugoslavia and the other States of the region, as set out in the Helsinki Final Act and annex 2, [...] (UN SC Res 1244, Preamble)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reaffirming the call in previous resolutions for substantial autonomy and meaningful self-administration for Kosovo, [...] (UN SC Res 1244, Preamble) • "Establishment of an interim administration for Kosovo as a part of the international civil presence under which the people of Kosovo can enjoy substantial autonomy within the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, [...] (UN SC Res 1244, Annex 2, Point 5)
Competences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exclusive competences of China: foreign policy, defence, supervision of legislation • Exclusive competences of HK: all other 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exclusive competences of Finland: foreign policy, defence, immigration policy, fiscal policy, supervision of legislation • Shared competences: foreign trade, criminal and labour law, health • Policy area of co-operation: civil defence • Exclusive competences of ÅI: domicile, public order and safety, additional and municipal taxes, collective contracts with ÅI public servants, urban and rural planning, environmental protection, protection of religious and cultural heritage, education 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reserved competences of Serbia: foreign policy, border control, protection of Serbian religious and cultural heritage • Defence: reserved competence of Serbia not to be applied in KM; • Policy areas of co-operation: monetary policy, customs policy • Exclusive competences of KM: all other (budget, economic policy, agriculture, media, education, environmental protection, youth, sport, fiscal policy, home affairs, health, energy, infrastructure, employment...)

Separation of Power	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • HK has legislative power in areas of its exclusive competence, but the Chinese National Congress may invalidate legislation enacted by the HK Legislative Council • PRC participates in the process of electing the Chief Executive (head of HK territory and government) • HK has its own independent and complete judicial system 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ÅI have legislative and executive branches • Governor of ÅI represents Finland, appointed by the President of Finland in agreement with ÅI Speaker • Åland Delegation is joint Finland-ÅI authority. Resolves certain types of disputes • ÅI parliament (<i>Lagting</i>) has legislative power in areas of ÅI's exclusive competence • Finland's Ministry of Justice, Åland Delegation, and President of Finland participate in the supervision of legislation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • KM autonomously elects and regulates its own institutions – without Serbia's involvement; • KM has legislative power in areas of KM's exclusive competence and in other areas as per agreement; Serbia cannot revoke or invalidate KM legislation; • KM has executive branch • KM has its own independent and complete judicial system with jurisdiction over cases from KM's exclusive competences and over other cases as per agreement; interim EU oversight; international judges.
Participation in Central Authorities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • HK citizens participate in China's parliamentary elections (MPs Chinese National Congress in Beijing) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ÅI citizens participate in Finland's parliamentary elections (MPs in Helsinki) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participation in executive (MFA) and judicial authority (Constitutional Court of Serbia's special panel for constitutional appeals from KM)
Foreign Policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • China – subject of international law • In areas of HK's exclusive competence, HK negotiates with other states and international organisations • HK has own international economic, trade, financial and monetary, shipping, communications, tourism, cultural, and sports relations. • In areas of China's competence, HK not included in international negotiations and preparation of 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Finland – subject of international law • ÅI Government may suggest international negotiations on a certain agreement to relevant Finland's authorities • ÅI Government will be informed on international agreement related to ÅI competences • If there is a special reason, ÅI Government may participate in international negotiations as a part of Finland's delegation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Serbia – subject of international law • In areas of KM's exclusive competence, KM negotiates with other states and international organisations. Preparation of agreements in consultation with Serbia. Formal signatory Serbia, co-signatory KM. if Serbia is rendered liable for not fulfilling KM's international obligations, KM would be held liable <i>vis-à-vis</i> Serbia • In areas of Serbia's reserved competence,

	agreements; <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • HK – 33 trade/economic offices abroad (in places of HK's own interest) • HK – member of regional initiatives and international organisations that allow non-sovereign territories to be members • China – provides consular protection to all citizens • China's MFA liaison office in HK • Status of foreign diplomatic and consular offices in HK – up to the General Consulate level 		KM representatives included in international negotiations and preparation of agreements; signatory – Serbia <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • KM – trade/economic offices abroad (in places of KM's own interest) • KM – member of regional initiatives and international organisations that allow non-sovereign territories to be members • Serbia – provides consular protection to all citizens; KM consular affairs offices within Serbia's diplomatic and consular missions abroad • Serbia's MFA liaison office in Priština; • Status of foreign diplomatic and consular offices in Priština – up to the General Consulate level
Defence Policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Responsibility of the PRC • People's Liberation Army HK Garrison 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Responsibility of Finland • ÅI demilitarised 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Temporary international military presence • Demilitarisation of KM
Policing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • HK 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ÅI 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • KM
Border Control	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • HK 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Finland 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Borders Crossing Points (land and air) – Serbian Police Service
Monetary Policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • HK has its own central bank and currency 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Finland 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • KM has its own central bank and currency • Gradual harmonisation of two systems according to the EU requirements
Customs Policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • HK has its own customs service 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Finland 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • KM has its own customs service • Gradual harmonisation of two systems according to the EU standards

The Final Instance of Human Rights Protection	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • HK 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Finland 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Serbia to monitor • Constitutional Court of Serbia; special panel for appeals from KM • EU Mission engagement in judicial reform in KiM
Cultural Policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • HK 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ÅI 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exclusive competence of KM, except in reconstruction and protection of the Serbian religious and cultural heritage – Serbia sets reconstruction and protection policy and implements reconstruction • Physical protection of the Serbian religious and cultural sites in co-operation with international military forces and KPS
EU Integrations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • N/A 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The relation of ÅI to EU legal system regulated by a special protocol which is a part of Finland's accession agreement. This protocol can be changed only with consent of all EU member states • ÅI parliament (<i>Lagting</i>) decided that ÅI should join EU • ÅI Government has the right to participate in preparing Finland's position before the decision making process in EU • In case that Finland and ÅI do not reach common position, ÅI position to be presented along with Finland's 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • KM continues STM until the start of SAA negotiations, at which moment Serbia is to be involved on issues falling into Serbia's reserved competences • Serbia and KM sign SAA for KM as an annex to Serbia's SAA • Further process of KM's EU integrations (status of a candidate and accession negotiations) will be co-ordinated with Serbia

This article can also be found at: http://www.srbija.sr.gov.yu/?change_lang=en

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Balkan Update

From: Balkan Update [balkanupdate@balkanupdate.net]

Sent: Monday, November 26, 2007 12:10 PM

Subject: Preservation of sovereignty, inviolability of internationally recognised borders of key importance for Serbia

Preservation of sovereignty, inviolability of internationally recognised borders of key importance for Serbia

Official Website of the Serbian Government

November 23, 2007

Belgrade – Serbian Prime Minister Vojislav Kostunica met today with ambassadors of EU member countries accredited in Serbia and said that the most important thing for Serbia is the preservation of sovereignty and inviolability of its internationally recognized borders.

Kostunica briefed the EU representatives on the current status of talks on Kosovo-Metohija's future status and stressed that Belgrade has put forward strong arguments proving that the substantial autonomy concept is the best solution and that it is functional and sustainable, which is shown by the examples of Hong Kong and the Oland Islands.

He voiced hope that the EU will support a solution based on a compromise, full respect of the UN Charter, the Serbian Constitution and basic principles of international law, particularly the territorial integrity and sovereignty of internationally recognized states.

He stressed it is crucial for Serbia that the Stabilisation and Association Agreement with the EU is signed as soon as possible and emphasised that the preservation of regional stability is another of its priorities and that, with that kind of attitude, Serbia will continue insisting on the respect of the Dayton Agreement and UN Security Council Resolution 1244 with equal consistency.

This article can also be found at: http://www.srbija.sr.gov.yu/?change_lang=en

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Balkan Update

From: Balkan Update [balkanupdate@balkanupdate.net]

Sent: Monday, November 26, 2007 4:24 PM

Subject: Serbian Prime Minister Vojislav Kostunica: Decision regarding Kosovo issue cannot be imposed on Serbia

Decision regarding Kosovo issue cannot be imposed on Serbia

Official Website of the Serbian Government

November 26, 2007

Belgrade/Baden – Serbian Prime Minister Vojislav Kostunica said today at the negotiations on the issue of the future status of Kosovo-Metohija in Baden near Vienna that no good can come out of harbouring illusions that a solution may be imposed on Serbia, and no one should doubt that Serbia will annul any unilateral act.

The Serbian government's official website presents excerpts of the Prime Minister's speech.

“The conclusion of this round of talks in the process of negotiations on the future status of the province of Kosovo-Metohija is an opportunity to sum up and examine all important elements of the talks held until now, and then on that basis to establish a joint proposal for a solution based on compromise. If it is proved that this is not yet possible, it would be our duty to agree upon continuing talks in a new process of negotiations.

It is important that today we remind ourselves of the path we have travelled and conclude that the issue above all issues was the implementation of standards in the province. When it became clear that there was a problem in fulfilling even elementary standards, a fundamental mistake was made in attempting to resolve that issue by moving to a new phase of negotiations called “both standards and status”. Since it was not realistic that this wrong approach should lead to progress, instead of correcting the initial mistake, the same faulty logic was followed and a new mistake made. Standards were forgotten and removed from the agenda and the resolution of the status was immediately made the subject of talks. And finally, during negotiations led by the troika, we have come to an absurd situation where it is recommended that we forget both the status and standards and turn to post-status questions, or good neighbourly relations and partnership between Serbia and Kosovo as if they were two separate states. With its constructive approach Serbia showed full readiness to take over responsibility and contribute to resolving the question of fulfilling necessary standards in the province. In the same measure, Serbia is qualified and willing to play its role in finding a solution based on compromise for the issue of the future status of Kosovo-Metohija, which must be in accordance with the UN Charter, Resolution 1244, Helsinki Final Act, and the Serbian Constitution.

On the other hand, I believe that you know more than well the reasons for which Serbia, as a sovereign, democratic and internationally recognised state, cannot discuss the issue of good neighbourly and partnership relations with its own province of Kosovo-Metohija.

Examining the situation in which we are today and taking into consideration the indisputable and evident fact that the entire negotiating standpoint of the Albanian side is built around only one word – independence, due to which no real progress has been made in negotiations, we find ourselves in a deadlock from which we have to find a way out and a way forward. That way out is certainly not negotiations on post-status questions, and the troika should consider the concrete suggestion to

recommend to the Security Council in its report that in the continuation of negotiations it should be established what has been achieved in implementation of standards in the province during the previous two years, during which the negotiations have been going on. This is important since every step forward in fulfilling most basic standards is at the same time a step towards finding a compromise solution for the status of the province.

The conclusion of this round is also an opportunity to take a look at the role of the mediating troika. The troika began their mission with a visit to Belgrade at the beginning of August, and far more was done during these last four months of negotiations than during the entire previous process which lasted almost a year and half, owing undoubtedly to dedication and hard work.

Owing to this far more intensive mediation and frequent meetings, Serbia was given the chance to develop its arguments and with indisputable examples prove that the proposed concept of substantial autonomy can function, is viable and is based on a universal model for resolving similar questions worldwide.

Even though all positive steps made, no doubt due to the efforts made by the troika, have not yet led to a compromise, they must be appreciated and properly valued. It is useful to remember that not a single complicated issue like this was resolved overnight, despite all the good will and effort invested. International experience says that patience, even more good will and adequate time is needed to reach lasting and just solutions to serious problems.

I would also like to say something about what Serbia expects from the troika. We think that, according to the merit, the troika should praise highly the responsible and constructive role of Serbia in the negotiating process. The reasons for that are solid, justified and manifold. Therefore, we expect the troika to take into account with recognition the fact that Serbia fully respects the UN Charter, the Security Council Resolution 1244, the Helsinki Final Act, the fact that it sticks to all fundamental principles of international law and to its own Constitution as guarantee of the legal system.

Besides, Serbia has not threatened anyone nor is it doing it now; it only strongly insists on finding a compromise solution in line with international law. Also, as you already know, Serbia is not threatening with unilateral political moves, on the contrary, it constantly calls on all three sides involved, i.e. the international community, Serbia and representatives of the interim institutions, to firmly pledge themselves that no one will make any unilateral moves.

I am also reminding you that in course of the negotiations Serbia has offered to Kosovo Albanians the status of the most privileged national minority that exists nowadays in the world. We offered to discuss and examine all examples of substantial autonomy that are existent or imaginable, and on basis of that to reach a compromise over such a model of substantial autonomy that would enable Kosovo Albanians to manage their lives and future on their own.

It is an undeniable truth – and all of us who are here today must face it - that Italy has South Tyrol, that China has Hong Kong and Macao, that Finland has Onland Islands, that Denmark has Greenland, that Spain has Catalonia and Basque Country, that Serbia has Kosovo-Metohija and that there are many more similar examples worldwide that were solved by a universal model of the right level of autonomy.

We expect the troika to take into account Serbia's more than strong arguments. Responding to all those arguments with a statement that Serbia is an exception, a unique and unrepeatable case, and that of all the countries in the world Serbia is the only one that can be dismembered, is neither a political, logical, moral, nor historical argument. In short, ladies and gentlemen, that is not an argument at all.

On this occasion I also want to address the Albanian side. Both you and we know very well that the history of our co-existence has not lasted a year, ten or hundred years, but many centuries and that we will continue to live together. That is why it is of crucial importance both for us and for you to find a historic compromise solution that will satisfy interests of both sides. There is enough space in Kosovo for Serbia to preserve its statehood, people and sacred sites, and for you to have your own system of autonomous government. Serbia cannot impose on you her own institutions, but neither can you impose on her the independence of Kosovo-Metohija, because the UN Charter and the Serbian Constitution say otherwise.

A formula based on compromise must contain and express equilibrium of interests of both sides that can be achieved by letting Serbia preserve its statehood and sovereignty and territorial integrity, and giving Kosovo Albanians their own system of autonomous government so that they could manage their lives and future on their own.

Serbia is fully committed to finding a compromise solution which would equally and at the same time meet Serbia's state and national interests and vital interests of Kosovo Albanians. We are deeply convinced that a compromise solution can be found if our truly minimal demand is fulfilled, and that is to respect the UN Charter and Resolution 1244 which guarantee Serbia's sovereignty and territorial integrity. If the Albanian side is willing to show responsibility and constructiveness at least approximately as Serbia is doing it incessantly, and if, as a sign of good will, is ready to make at least one step towards Serbia's constant efforts, that will be a clear sign that we are finally starting to move towards a solution based on agreement.

On the other hand, it is not good for anyone to harbour illusions that it is possible to impose a solution on Serbia. No one should doubt that we will declare null and void every unilateral act, and treat the unilateral independence as non-existent, invalid and unobligatory occurrence.

Finally, Serbia as an old European state calls on all of us to respect international law and behave strictly in line with the Security Council's imperative mandate, aware of the fact that only this top UN body can bring decisions that everyone must respect. On its part, Serbia as a reliable and responsible partner will respect decisions of the UN Security Council, and expects the same from all participants in the process of resolution of the future status of the province of Kosovo-Metohija," the Serbian Prime Minister underlined.

This article can also be found at: http://www.srbija.sr.gov.yu/?change_lang=en

Note: Barbour Griffith & Rogers, LLC has filed registration statements under the Foreign Agents Registration Act with regard to its representation and dissemination of information on behalf of the Government of Serbia. Additional information is on file with the Foreign Agents Registration Unit of the Department of Justice in Washington DC.

Balkan Update

From: Balkan Update [balkanupdate@balkanupdate.net]

Sent: Monday, November 26, 2007 7:04 PM

Subject: Serbian Prime Minister Vojislav Kostunica: Serbia will not allow seizure of any millimetre of its territory

Serbia will not allow seizure of any millimetre of its territory

Official Website of the Serbian Government

November 26, 2007

Vienna – Serbian Prime Minister Vojislav Kostunica stated today that the state team for talks on the Kosovo-Metohija future status will propose new ideas to Kosovo Albanians regarding the organisation of the province and stressed that Serbia will not allow the seizure of a single millimetre of its territory.

Upon arrival at the Weikersdorf castle, where the three-day final round of talks on the Kosovo-Metohija future began under the mediation of the Contact Group's troika of envoys, Kostunica addressed the press and stressed that Serbia is a free democratic internationally recognised country adding that the only conclusion to be drawn from that is that it will not let a single millimetre of its territory to be taken away.

We have gathered here with the aim of reaching a compromise solution through the respect of international law, UN Charter, Resolution 1244 and the Serbian Constitution, which should meet the vital interests, that is, Serbia's state and national ones and of course the vital interests of Kosovo Albanians, stressed the Serbian Prime Minister.

According to Kostunica, the Belgrade delegation will primarily insist on talks on the substantial autonomy proposal which may get the two sides close to a compromise solution.

He stated that in the course of the three-day talks, the state delegation will come up with new ideas and even stronger new arguments, adding that if there is constructiveness and good will, a compromise solution could be reached to the satisfaction of both Serbia and Pristina.

This article can also be found at: http://www.srbija.sr.gov.yu/?change_lang=en

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Balkan Update

From: Balkan Update [balkanupdate@balkanupdate.net]

Sent: Wednesday, November 28, 2007 11:11 AM

Subject: Serbia will not accept Kosovo independence

Serbia will not accept Kosovo independence

Official Website of the Serbian Government

November 28, 2007

Belgrade/Baden – Serbian President Boris Tadic and Prime Minister Vojislav Kostunica stated today that the three-day talks of the Serbian state negotiating team and representatives of Kosovo Albanians in Baden marked the final round of negotiations on the future status of Kosovo-Metohija under the umbrella of the Contact Group's mediating troika, noting that no agreement was reached.

Tadic said that for Serbia this does not mean a compromise is impossible to find, adding that a compromised solution would be the only solution providing development, peace and stability for the region.

He pointed out that Serbia will not accept independence for Kosovo-Metohija as it would result in instability and cause domino effect in the region and beyond.

We hope that officials from international institutions bear in mind the proposals Serbia has made. Serbia will reject any act of independence and will come up with a response in accordance with international standards, said Tadic.

The Serbian President underlined that Serbia does not want violence and will not use violence, but will use all legal and diplomatic means to respond to unilateral acts regarding Kosovo status.

Tadic said that the Serbian delegation during the last four months exposed its proposals on substantial autonomy of the province, adding that the negotiating process was much better guided by the mediating troika than the previous process led by former mediator Martti Ahtisaari.

Serbian Prime Minister Vojislav Kostunica said that Serbia has done everything to offer various solutions on substantial autonomy of Kosovo-Metohija, stressing the proclamation of independence would be violation of international law.

There were attempts to raise other issues, such as relations between two states, modelled on the case of two German states, which is contrary to UN SC Resolution 1244 and international documents, Kostunica said, adding that such proposals were not presented by the troika as a whole.

Kostunica also noted that the Kosovo status talks have been brought back to the very start.

The whole process started in the UN Security Council and that is where it must conclude, the Prime Minister said.

He reiterated that Serbia is an internationally recognised and democratic country that will not allow this to be brought into question by unilateral acts nor will it agree to disrespect of international law.

This article can also be found at: http://www.srbija.sr.gov.yu/?change_lang=en

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Balkan Update

From: Balkan Update [balkanupdate@balkanupdate.net]

Sent: Wednesday, November 28, 2007 4:22 PM

Subject: Process of negotiations on Kosovo issue must end in UN Security Council

Process of negotiations on Kosovo issue must end in UN Security Council

Official Website of the Serbian Government

November 28, 2007

Serbian Prime Minister Vojislav Kostunica said today in Baden that the process of negotiations on the issue of the future status of Kosovo-Metohija must end where it began – in the United Nations Security Council.

Following a meeting between the Serbian delegation and the mediating troika, which took place as part of the three-day talks on the future status of Kosovo-Metohija, Kostunica said that unilateral declaration of independence would be a criminal act since it means violation of international law.

He stressed that the negotiations process does not end in Baden or with the report by the Contact Group's troika to the UN Secretary General, and reiterated that Serbia, regarding the issue of the status of Kosovo-Metohija, will consider as legitimate only a decision by the Security Council and any other decision a violation of international law.

The Serbian Prime Minister said that Serbia upholds respect of international law, and the international law supports us.

According to Kostunica, recent negotiations unfolded without balance, precisely due to the fact that Kosovo Albanians sought a solution outside international law.

Kostunica said that unlike Belgrade, during two years of negotiations Pristina did not present a single concrete plan, apart from the repeated demand for independence.

Serbia attempted throughout to come forward with new ideas and arguments, which is reflected in talks held so far. It has been proven that when concrete solutions in modern substantial autonomy are in question, Serbia presented various new ideas and arguments.

He pointed to the fact that Serbia, as a negotiating side, advocates respect for fundamental principles of international law, above all the territorial integrity and sovereignty of internationally recognised states and is making efforts to reach a compromise, while Pristina is looking for a solution outside international law.

Kostunica stressed that the only acceptable decision for Serbia will be one which is brought by the UN Security Council, and everything else, such as the idea of neutral status or unilateral declaration of independence, are absolutely unacceptable.

These talks, from our perspective, were not unsuccessful since during the mandate of the troika, which was constructive and balanced, Serbia had the opportunity to present its proposal in detail, said Kostunica.

Responding to a question regarding Serbia's course of action in case of a unilateral declaration of

independence by Pristina, Kostunica said that Belgrade will annul such an act as illegitimate.

This is not only Serbia's stand, but the position of international law, and the harm done to Serbia will be incomparable to consequences for international law and the UN. In case of a unilateral declaration of independence, the authority of the Security Council will be seriously undermined, stressed the Serbian Prime Minister.

This article can also be found at: http://www.srbija.sr.gov.yu/?change_lang=en

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Addendum to the Supplemental Statement
Barbour Griffith & Rogers, LLC (Registration Number 5430)
Questions 11&12 – Services; Political Activity

Iraqi National Accord

The Registrant engaged in two categories of political activities: monitoring and advising on U.S. policymaking processes with regard to Iraq, and arranging meetings between Iraqi and U.S. officials. The means employed included communications to, and meeting and briefings with, U.S. government officials and members of the U.S. media, as well as distribution of informational materials. Specifically, during the six-month period, the Registrant engaged in the activities listed below. A copy of all informational material either distributed or facilitated by the Registrant on behalf of the foreign principal is attached.

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Date of Contact	F.S. Contact Official	Means of Contact	Subject Matter
August 14	Lynn Rusten, Senate Armed Services Committee	E-mail	Support for Iraqi National Accord
August 15	Lynn Rusten, Senate Armed Services Committee	E-mail	Support for Iraqi National Accord
August 17	Rexon Ryu, Office of Senator Chuck Hagel (R-NE)	E-mail	Senator Hagel phone call with Dr. Ayad Allawi
August 19	Evelyn Farkas, Senate Armed Services Committee	E-mail	Forthcoming meeting for Dr. Ayad Allawi with Senator Levin (D-MI)
August 20	Matt Zweig, House Foreign Affairs Committee	Phone Call	Support for Iraqi National Accord
August 20	Matt Zweig, House Foreign Affairs Committee	E-mail	Support for Iraqi National Accord
August 20	Senator Mel Martinez (R-FL)	Phone Call	Dr. Ayad Allawi
August 20	Terry Couch, Office of Senator Mel Martinez (R-FL)	Phone Call	Senator Martinez phone call with Dr. Ayad Allawi
August 20	Terry Couch, Office of Senator Mel Martinez (R-FL)	E-mail	Senator Martinez phone call with Dr. Ayad Allawi
August 21	John Little, Office of Senator Mel Martinez (R-FL)	Phone Call	Senator Martinez phone call with Dr. Ayad Allawi
August 21	John Little, Office of Senator Mel Martinez (R-FL)	E-mail	Senator Martinez phone call with Dr. Ayad Allawi
August 21	Bill Caniano, Senate Armed Services Committee	Phone Call	Support for Iraqi National Accord
August 21	Ken Myers, Senate Foreign Relations Committee	Phone Call	Support for Iraqi National Accord
August 21	Ken Myers, Senate Foreign Relations Committee	E-mail	Support for Iraqi National Accord
August 21	Jon Darcy, Office of Senator Evan Bayh (D-IN)	Phone Call	Support for Iraqi National Accord

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August 21	Jon Darcy, Office of Senator Evan Bayh (D-IN)	E-mail	Support for Iraqi National Accord
August 21	Kevin Hernandez, Office of Senator Richard Burr (R-NC)	Phone Call	Support for Iraqi National Accord
August 21	Kevin Hernandez, Office of Senator Richard Burr (R-NC)	E-mail	Support for Iraqi National Accord
August 21	Skip Fischer, Senate Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs Committee	E-mail	Support for Iraqi National Accord
August 21	Martin Bayer, Office of Senator John Sununu (R-NH)	Phone Call	Support for Iraqi National Accord
August 21	Martin Bayer, Office of Senator John Sununu (R-NH)	E-mail	Support for Iraqi National Accord
August 21	Anne LeMay, Office of Rep. John McHugh (R-NY)	E-mail	Support for Iraqi National Accord
August 21	Madelyn Creedon, Senate Armed Services Committee	E-mail	Support for Iraqi National Accord
August 21	Anne Caldwell, Office of Senator Richard Shelby (R-AL)	E-mail	Support for Iraqi National Accord
August 21	Laurent Crenshaw, Office of Rep. Darrell Issa (R-CA)	E-mail	Support for Iraqi National Accord
August 21	Fred Douney, Office of Senator Joseph Lieberman (I-CT)	E-mail	Support for Iraqi National Accord
August 21	Tom Sheehy, House Foreign Affairs Committee	E-mail	Support for Iraqi National Accord
August 22	Fred Douney, Office of Senator Joseph Lieberman (I-CT)	E-mail	Support for Iraqi National Accord
August 22	John Little, Office of Senator Mel Martinez (R-FL)	E-mail	Logistics of Martinez Iraq Codel
August 22	Dan Cox, Senate Armed Services Committee	E-mail	Support for Iraqi National Accord

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August 22	John Little, Office of Senator Mel Martinez (R-FL)	Phone Call	Logistics of Martinez Iraq Codel
August 22	Liz King, Office of Senator Jack Reed (D-RI)	E-mail	Support for Iraqi National Accord
August 22	Tony Blinken, Senate Armed Services Committee	E-mail	Support for Iraqi National Accord
August 22	Puneet Talwar, Senate Foreign Relations Committee	E-mail	Support for Iraqi National Accord
August 22	Rick DeBobes, Senate Armed Services Committee	E-mail	Support for Iraqi National Accord
August 22	Dan Cox, Senate Armed Services Committee	E-mail	Support for Iraqi National Accord
August 22	Steve Rebillot, Office of Senator Saxby Chambliss (R-GA)	E-mail	Support for Iraqi National Accord
August 22	Clyde Taylor, Office of Senator Saxby Chambliss (R-GA)	E-mail	Support for Iraqi National Accord
August 22	Dave Hanke, Office of Senator John Cornyn (R-TX)	E-mail	Support for Iraqi National Accord
August 22	Dave Hanke, Office of Senator John Cornyn (R-TX)	E-mail	Support for Iraqi National Accord
August 22	Matt Rimkunas, Office of Senator Lindsey Graham (R-SC)	E-mail	Support for Iraqi National Accord
August 22	Richard Perry, Office of Senator Lindsey Graham (R-SC)	E-mail	Support for Iraqi National Accord
August 22	Tim Morrison, Office of Senator Jon Kyl (R-AZ)	E-mail	Support for Iraqi National Accord
August 22	Mitch Waldman, Office of Senator Trent Lott (R-MS)	E-mail	Support for Iraqi National Accord
August 22	Richard Fontaine, Office of Senator John McCain (R-AZ)	E-mail	Support for Iraqi National Accord
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August 21	Washington Post	E-mail	Dr. Ayad Allawi
August 26	CNN	Interview	Dr. Ayad Allawi Television Appearance
August 28	Fox News	E-mail	Dr. Ayad Allawi
August 28	Newsweek	E-mail	Dr. Ayad Allawi
August 28	Washington Post	E-mail	Dr. Ayad Allawi
August 28	Newshour	E-mail	Dr. Ayad Allawi
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September 2	The Hill	E-mail	Dr. Ayad Allawi
September 3	The Hill	E-mail	Dr. Ayad Allawi
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September 13	Fox News	E-mail	Dr. Ayad Allawi
September 15	Fox News	E-mail	Dr. Ayad Allawi
September 20	CNN	Phone Call	Arranged Press Interview
September 20	Fox News	E-mail	Dr. Ayad Allawi
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October 30	Bell-Pottinger	E-mail	Doha Debates; Dr. Ayad Allawi

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October 31	Bell-Pottinger	Appearance	Dr. Ayad Allawi Appearance at Doha Debates
November 1	Bell-Pottinger	E-mail	Doha Debates; Dr. Ayad Allawi
November 2	CNN	Phone Call	Arranged Press Interview
November 15	CNN	Phone Call	Arranged Press Interview
November 15	Newsweek	E-mail	Dr. Ayad Allawi
November 16	CNN	Phone Call	Arranged Press Interview
November 20	CNN	Phone Call	Arranged Press Interview
November 25	CNN	Interview	Dr. Ayad Allawi Television Appearance
November 26	CNN	Phone Call	Arranged Press Interview

November 2, 2007

OP-ED CONTRIBUTOR

How Iraq's Elections Set Back Democracy

By AYAD ALLAWI

Baghdad

IN the six weeks since Gen. David Petraeus and Ambassador Ryan Crocker delivered their report to Congress on the situation in Iraq, there has been much criticism over the lack of progress made by the Baghdad government toward national reconciliation. Unfortunately, neither Washington nor the government of Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki seems to understand that reconciliation between Iraq's ethnic and religious groups will begin only when we change the flawed electoral system that was created after the fall of Saddam Hussein.

The paralysis that has afflicted the government in Baghdad, the sectarian disputes across the country and the failure to move toward reconciliation were all predictable outcomes of the senseless rush to hold national elections and put the Constitution in place. At the time, leaders from all major parties produced a memorandum calling for a delay of the elections, which I presented to Ghazi al-Yawer, then the interim president of Iraq.

Yet due largely to political pressure from the international community, the elections went ahead in January 2005, under a misguided "closed party list" system. Rather than choosing a specific candidate, voters across the country chose from among rival lists of candidates backed and organized by political parties. This system was entirely unsuitable given the security situation, the lack of accurate census figures, heavy intimidation from ethnic and religious militias, gross interventions by Iran, dismantled state institutions, and the use of religious symbols by parties to influence voters.

Accordingly, the vast majority of the electorate based their choices on sectarian and ethnic affiliations, not on genuine political platforms. Because many electoral lists weren't made public until just before the voting, the competing candidates were simply unknown to ordinary Iraqis. This gave rise to our sectarian Parliament, controlled by party leaders rather than by the genuine representatives of the people. They have assembled a government unaccountable and unanswerable to its people.

How to fix this mess and bring Iraqis together as a true nation? We must begin with a fundamental re-examination of the electoral laws and the Constitution. This is not simply my opinion — it is shared by many of my colleagues in the Parliament's Council of Representatives.

I propose that a new electoral law be devised to move Iraq toward a completely district-based electoral system, like the American Congress, or a "mixed party list" system like that in Germany, in which some representatives are directly elected and other seats are allotted based on the parties' overall showing. In either case, the candidates must be announced well in advance of the election, and they must be chosen to represent the people in their locality.

Furthermore, a new law should ban the use of religious symbols and rhetoric by candidates and parties — these have no place in democratic elections. In order to prevent interference from militias and to ensure transparency, the United Nations must supervise all these elections district by district. And these reforms should be supplemented by other preconditions of national reconciliation, like general amnesty to all those who have not engaged in terrorism.

The next elections in Iraq are not scheduled to take place until late 2009 (unless the current government is removed by parliamentary means or a new general election is held at the request of a majority of the body). Whatever the fate of the Maliki government, the Council of Representatives must act fast to repeal the regulatory framework of the elections law and propose a new system to the independent electoral commission of Iraq that will ensure all Iraqis are granted an equal voice in their government.

This restructuring of the electoral process will be the beginning of the end of the sectarianism that now dominates Iraqi politics and our dysfunctional government. National reconciliation should be the most significant milestone set by the Bush administration, since this “benchmark” is far more important than the 17 others put forward by Congress this year.

Building democracy in Iraq will be a long-term process, established through the rule of law, a stable security environment, functioning state institutions and an emerging civil society. Success can be achieved if we act soon to bring about the fundamental reforms needed to provide for an Iraqi democracy with a parliament and government that are receptive to people's needs. Only then can we build a country that will finally allow us to enjoy the freedom so many have paid for with their lives.

The alternative is continuing down the road we are headed, which leads directly to the disintegration of Iraq.

Ayad Allawi, the prime minister of Iraq from 2004 to 2005, heads the Iraqi National Accord Party.

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washingtonpost.com

A Plan for Iraq

By Ayad Allawi
Saturday, August 18, 2007; A13

Next month, Gen. David Petraeus, commander of U.S. forces in Iraq, and Ambassador Ryan Crocker will report to Congress on the situation in my country. I expect that the testimony of these two good men will be qualified and nuanced, as politics requires. I also expect that their assessment will not capture the totality of the tragedy -- that more than four years after its liberation from Saddam Hussein, Iraq is a failing state, not providing the most basic security and services to its people and contributing to an expanding crisis in the Middle East.

Let me be clear. Responsibility for the current mess in Iraq rests primarily with the Iraqi government, not with the United States. Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki has failed to take advantage of the Iraqi people's desire for peaceful and productive lives and of the enormous commitment and sacrifices made by the United States and other nations. The expected "crisis summit" in Baghdad is further evidence of the near-complete collapse of the Iraqi government. The best outcome of the summit is perhaps a renewed effort or commitment for the participants to work together, which may buy a few more weeks or months of cosmetic political activity. But there will be no lasting political reconciliation under Maliki's sectarian regime.

Who could have imagined that Iraq would be in such crisis more than four years after Saddam Hussein? Each month 2,000 to 3,000 Iraqi civilians are killed by terrorists and sectarian death squads. Electricity and water are available, at best, for only five to six hours a day. Baghdad, once evidence of Iraq's cultural, ethnic and religious diversity, is now a city of armed sectarian enclaves -- much like Beirut of the 1980s.

It is up to Iraqis to end the violence and bring stability, security and democracy to our country. I am working with my colleagues in parliament to build a nonsectarian majority coalition that will support the following six-point plan for a "new era" in Iraq and replace through democratic means the current Iraqi government.

- Iraq must be a full partner with the United States in the development of a security plan that leads to the withdrawal of the majority of U.S. forces over the next two years, and that, before then, gradually and substantially reduces the U.S. combat role. The United States is indispensable to peace and security in Iraq and the greater Middle East. But we owe it to America -- and, more important, to ourselves -- to start solving our own problems. This will not happen as long as the present government is in power.

- I propose declaring a state of emergency for Baghdad and all conflict areas. Iraq's security forces need to be reconstituted. Whenever possible, these reconstituted forces should absorb members of the sectarian and ethnic militias into a nonsectarian security command structure. Empowering militias is not a sustainable solution, because it perpetuates the tensions between communities and undermines the power and authority of the state. A state has no legitimacy if it cannot provide security.

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· We need a regional diplomatic strategy that increasingly invests the United Nations and the Arab world in Iraqi security and reconstruction. Washington should not shoulder this diplomatic burden alone, as it largely has until now. Prime Minister Maliki has squandered Iraq's credibility in Arab politics, and he cannot restore it. In addition, Iraq needs to be more assertive in telling Iran to end its interference in Iraqi affairs and in persuading Syria to play a more constructive role in Iraq.

· Iraq must be a single, independent federal state. We should empower local and provincial institutions at the expense of sectarian politics and an all-powerful and overbearing Baghdad. Religion should be a unifying -- not divisive -- force in my country. Iraqis, both Sunni and Shiite, should take pride in their Islamic identity. But when religious sectarianism dominates politics, terrorists and extremists emerge as the sole winners.

· National reconciliation requires an urgent commitment to moderation and ending sectarian violence by integrating all Iraqis into the political process. We should recognize the contribution of the Kurds and the Kurdistan Regional Government to Iraq's democratic future. Reconciliation requires the active engagement of prominent Iraqi Shiite and Sunni political and religious leaders. Maliki has stalled the passage of legislation, proposed in March, to reverse de-Baathification. That proposal should be passed immediately.

· The Iraqi economy has been handicapped by corruption and inadequate security. We must emphasize restoration of the most basic infrastructure. There can be no sustainable economic development and growth without reliable electricity, running and potable water, and basic health care. Over time, Iraq needs to build a free-market economy with a prominent role for the private sector.

It is past time for change at the top of the Iraqi government. Without that, no American military strategy or orderly withdrawal will succeed, and Iraq and the region will be left in chaos.

The writer was interim prime minister of Iraq from 2004 to 2005.

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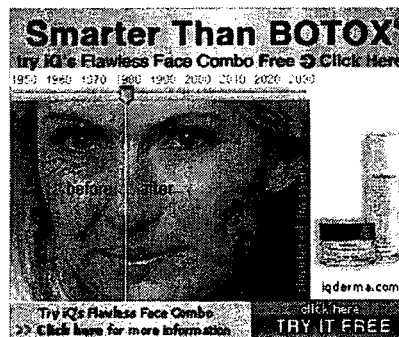
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CNN LATE EDITION WITH WOLF BLITZER

Interview With Ayad Allawi; Interview With Bill Richardson

Aired August 26, 2007 - 11:00 ET

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WOLF BLITZER, HOST: It's 11:00 a.m. here in Washington, 8:00 a.m. in Los Angeles, 4:00 p.m. in London, 7:00 p.m. in Baghdad. Wherever you're watching from around the world, thanks very much for joining us for "Late Edition." Let's get right to our first interview, a Sunday exclusive.

A new U.S. intelligence report says there has been some progress on the security front in Iraq, but it paints a bleak picture about the country's political leadership. The National Intelligence Estimate expresses serious doubts about the ability of the prime minister Nouri al-Maliki's government to bring Iraq's various factions together.

One of the prime minister's sharpest critics is the Iraqi former interim prime minister, Ayad Allawi. He joined me just a little while ago from Amman, Jordan.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

BLITZER: Dr. Allawi, thank you very much for joining us. Always good to have you back here on "Late Edition."

I read your article in The Washington Post a week ago last weekend, on August 18th. Among other things, you wrote these provocative words. You said, "Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki has squandered Iraq's credibility in Arab politics, and he cannot restore it. It is past time for change at the top of the Iraqi government. Without that, no American military strategy or orderly withdrawal will succeed, and Iraq and the region will be left in chaos."

Why have you lost all your confidence in the prime minister, Nouri al-Maliki?

AYAD ALLAWI, FORMER IRAQI PRIME MINISTER: Well, I lost my confidence, Wolf, really, in the process which is ongoing in Iraq, which is based on sectarianism. It's based on supporting militias to take the rule of law in their hands, to get away from assertive regional politics. That's why we, frankly, have lost our faith in the capability of the current government of salvaging the country and moving forward.

BLITZER: And you've pulled your ministers out of the government...

ALLAWI: Reconciliation...

BLITZER: And you have no intention of allowing them or calling on them to go back in?

ALLAWI: Unless the government decides to embark on a course of national unity or national reconciliation, on getting away from sectarianism, which is crushing the Iraqi people, it's very difficult to rejoin the government.

BLITZER: So you basically have lost...

ALLAWI: But we will...

BLITZER: ... total confidence.

ALLAWI: We will definitely -- sorry?

BLITZER: So you've basically lost total confidence in Nouri al-Maliki.

ALLAWI: It's not the person, Wolf, it's the system -- the system of running the government on sectarian basis, the system of running the government on non-reconciliation with the various groups in Iraq.

And this is, frankly, damaging the prospects for stability not only in Iraq but in the whole region. And it is affecting the mission of the United States, which we are trying to salvage at the same time.

My six points call for a full partnership with the United States, to save Iraq and salvage the American mission.

BLITZER: I want you to listen to what President Bush said on Wednesday about the prime minister, Nouri al-Maliki. Listen to President Bush.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

PRESIDENT GEORGE W. BUSH: Prime Minister Maliki's a good guy, good man, with a difficult job. And I support him.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: He's holding out hope that Nouri al-Maliki can get the job done. But you think, frankly -- and you're a very candid man -- the president's hope is not worth it?

ALLAWI: Well, I am not doubting whether he's a good guy or not a good guy. But I am doubting the system of militias, of sectarianism, of trying to avoid the benchmarks which President Bush and the Congress have laid down for the government in Iraq.

And I cannot see that this government will implement the benchmarks. I don't see that we are getting closer to reconciliation. I don't see that we are getting closer to getting rid of militias. I am not seeing that we are getting closer to having an assertive policies, foreign policies, which would not allow Iran to intervene in Iraqi affairs.

That's why I think the United States ought to re-examine this strategy in full and to look forward to a proper and real reconciliation in Iraq. Because, otherwise, there will be no security, and if there is no security, Iraq will only go down the path of destruction and violence.

BLITZER: As you know, some influential people here in the United States are calling on Nouri al-Maliki to step down, including Democratic presidential candidate Hillary Clinton; the chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, Carl Levin; some Republicans as well.

He responded with some very, very terse words, Nouri al-Maliki, on Wednesday. He said this, he said, "We will pay no attention. We care for our people and our constitution and can find friends elsewhere."

Those words were seen here in Washington as pretty biting, given the enormous amount of support the United States has provided Iraq over these years.

What's your reaction when you heard Nouri al-Maliki's response to the criticism?

ALLAWI: Well, to be honest, I don't think we should personalize the issues here, Wolf. And I thank you for this candid question, which is very important.

I think, really, we are looking -- we are overlooking the realities in Iraq. Sectarianism and militias and terror are still crushing the Iraqi people and crushing the American soldiers and destroying the mission of the United States to help Iraq in stabilizing itself and stabilizing the region.

Now, the Iraqi people that Mr. Maliki claim are really the ones who are antagonizing what the Americans are saying are being crushed. Oppression is thriving in the country, and the destruction is almost total.

And we are facing a problem here. We need to save our country, and we need to work very hard to save our country and to save the American mission in Iraq. And these are two very important objectives that we want to stick to.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

BLITZER: Just ahead, more of my exclusive interview with the former prime minister of Iraq, Ayad Allawi. I'll ask him why he has now hired a high-powered Washington lobbying firm with very close ties to the Bush White House to promote him as a replacement for Nouri al-Maliki.

And later, we'll get an assessment of military progress on the ground from the number-two U.S. military commander in Iraq, Lieutenant General Raymond Odierno. He's standing by live.

"Late Edition" will be right back.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK) BLITZER: Welcome back to "Late Edition." I'm Wolf Blitzer in Washington. Later this hour, we'll ask the number two U.S. military commander on the ground in Iraq how long he thinks it will be before U.S. troops start coming home. That interview with General Ray Odierno coming up. He's going to be joining us live.

But first, here's part two of my exclusive interview with the former prime minister of Iraq, Ayad Allawi.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

BLITZER: There is a lot of speculation, what happens in Iraq after Nouri al-Maliki, if his government should collapse, if he should step down.

There was this intriguing paragraph in today's Washington Post by the columnist David Ignatius, who wrote this -- and I'll read it to you -- "In 'back to the future' mode, the name being mentioned these days is Ayad Allawi, a former Baathist who was interim prime minister and has strong support among Sunnis, even though he's a secular Shiite. Allawi has bundles of money to help buy political support, but it comes from Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates rather than the United States."

Let's go through some of these points that David Ignatius makes and I'll give you a chance to respond. First of all, do you want to be prime minister of Iraq again?

ALLAWI: Well, frankly, Wolf, we want to change the sectarian system. We want to build Iraq worthy for all Iraqis, regardless of their ethnic or religious backgrounds. We want a moderate, strong, singular, independent, federal Iraq, which can be a positive force in peace and stability in the whole region and the world.

This is my main objective, and these are the points in the six-point plan which I am calling for. Definitely, we have a lot of supporters in the region, inside Iraq. The polls do indicate what I'm saying.

And I enjoy a very healthy relationship with the Arab world and with Islamic world, probably with the exception of Iran. But we need to progress things as -- to stabilize Iraq as much as we can, as humanly as possible. Otherwise, all of us will be in tremendous danger. So...

BLITZER: Does that...

ALLAWI: ... really, it's changing the -- it's changing the environment and changing the political landscape is the essential part of what I'm looking at, Wolf.

BLITZER: So can I assume that you would like to be prime minister again?

ALLAWI: It's not a matter of liking, Wolf. It's a matter of changing the political landscape. I wouldn't, frankly, be want to become a prime minister in a sectarian regime. This is something I reject, I refuse. It wouldn't be honorable to me.

I wouldn't advocate being a prime minister in a sectarian regime. But I would play my role in Iraq, in whatever capacity, as required, to change Iraq into a non-sectarian country, to a peaceful country, to a democratic -- really democratic country, pushing peace and stability throughout the region.

So I would not shy away from any position under such circumstances, but definitely under the rule of sectarianism, I'm not ready to join any position in the government.

BLITZER: All right, I'll assume that that means, yes, that under the right circumstances, you would want to be prime minister. But let me ask you the second part of the question raised by David Ignatius' column, that you're getting lots of money from Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. Is that true?

ALLAWI: I wish what he projects is correct. We need a lot of funds. Our adversaries in Iraq are heavily supported financially by other quarters. We are not. We fought the elections with virtually no support whatsoever, except for Iraqis and the Iraqis who support us.

And we are trying to look for financial support for the national program to save Iraq and save the region. But what Ignatius said -- although I respect him a lot, I trust him, he's an outstanding person -- is not that correct.

BLITZER: Well, let's talk about some of the money, because there was a story, as you know, in Washington this week, that you're retained the services of a prominent Republican-linked Washington lobbying firm, Barbour Griffith & Rogers, to do some public relations work for you here in the United States, and some reports suggesting you're paying them about \$300,000 over a six-month period.

Tell us why you need a Washington public relations lobbying firm to help you now.

ALLAWI: Wolf, I want to save Iraq. I want to save the mission of the United States. I am building a plan. I am trying to stop the deterioration and violence in Iraq. I am trying to reverse the course in Iraq into a less sectarian, non-sectarian course. And for that reason, we have developed a plan, a six-point plan. Because of the crucial role of the United States, we are asking this firm to help us to advocate our views, the views of the nationalistic Iraqis, the non-sectarian Iraqis.

And I assure you, Wolf, that this payment is made by an Iraqi person who was a supporter of us, of the INA, of myself, of our program, and he has supported this wholeheartedly, without any strings attached.

But our objective is to develop a plan to save Iraq and to save American lives, as well as, of course, Iraqi lives, and to save the American mission in Iraq, and this is what we are looking at.

BLITZER: And the numbers that have been reported, \$300,000 over six months, those numbers are accurate?

ALLAWI: I think these numbers are accurate. I am not party to the exact amount, Wolf. But these figures are really much less than the figures that are being paid by others, our adversaries, who are advocating sectarianism and having satellite stations, TV stations, daily newspapers, Web sites, and what have you, broadcast.

We don't have this. We don't have such support. And the support we got is from an Iraqi person. I cannot unfortunately divulge his name. He is a supporter of our program, and I don't know the exact figure, but it is in the region that you mentioned. But the exact figure, I don't know.

BLITZER: If you had your way, Dr. Allawi, how much longer would U.S. troops need to stay in Iraq?

ALLAWI: I think this is one of the points we made, Wolf. We need a full partnership between us and the United States -- Iraq and the United States -- to work around a schedule of draw down which is matched by building the institutions of Iraq, institutions loyal to the country, not loyal to the sects, which are capable of shouldering and facing the threats which are being posed on Iraq.

I think if we talk around the region of two to two-and-a-half years, if we work in a full partnership with the United States, to have a draw-down. I think we are in the right direction.

BLITZER: And when would you want the U.S. to start that draw-down? How quickly do you believe the U.S. troops, from the 162,000 that are there right now, when would they start being able to reduce that number?

ALLAWI: I can't tell you. I'm out of office, Wolf. But my best guess, really, is for the United States and the Iraqi government, to work on a program, on a schedule, to start the draw-down as soon as possible.

As soon as the Iraqi forces are able to stand on their feet and provide security for the Iraqis I think the draw-down should start. I think there should be, currently now as we speak, formation of a higher committee between the two governments to look into this possibility.

BLITZER: One final question, Dr. Allawi. Our time is almost up. We're speaking to you -- you're in Amman, Jordan. When are you planning on going back to Baghdad, to try to rally your supporters there and get this political process moving?

ALLAWI: You can talk to me next week in Baghdad, inshallah, Wolf. I am going to Iraqi Kurdistan, and from there I'm going to Baghdad.

We are going to fight for our country. We are going to continue our belief in the political process. And we would look to the support of the United States, to continue support to Iraq and to stability and peace in the region.

BLITZER: Dr. Ayad Allawi, the former interim prime minister of Iraq, joining us from Amman.

Thanks very much, Dr. Allawi. Good luck to you.

ALLAWI: Thank you, Wolf. Thank you very much.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

BLITZER: And still to come, my live interviews with the number-two U.S. military commander in Iraq, Lieutenant General Ray Odierno -- he's standing by in Baghdad -- and former U.S. Senator and Vietnam War veteran Max Cleland.

Also coming up, the actress and activist Mia Farrow. She's trying to focus the world's attention on ending the genocide in Darfur. She'll tell us if she thinks the world should boycott the summer Olympic games in Beijing because of China's support for Sudan.

Stay with "Late Edition." We'll be right back.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

BLITZER: Welcome back to "Late Edition." I'm Wolf Blitzer, in Washington.

My interview with former U.S. Senator and Vietnam War veteran Max Cleland, that's coming up.

But first, actress Mia Farrow is an activist for Sudanese refugees, and she thinks an opportunity to get her message across is next year's Beijing Olympics. She explained the connection this week in "The Situation Room."

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

MIA FARROW, ACTRESS: China has poured billions of dollars into Sudan. Beijing purchases an overwhelming majority of Sudan's annual oil exports. And as much as 80 percent of those oil revenues are used in the expensive business of genocide: to purchase of Antonov bombers, attack helicopters, munitions factories, arming and training the Arab militia now known as Janjaweed. All this is funded by Chinese money.

So we look at China: "one world, one dream." China wishes to step out of its -- into a post-Tiananmen Square era. Let us make that the reality. "One world, one dream" is the slogan for their 2008 Olympic games, but there is one nightmare that China cannot sweep under the rug, and that is Darfur.

BLITZER: You're not ready to call for a boycott now, but you're leaving that option open -- is that what I'm hearing -- down the road, unless China changes its stance toward Sudan?

FARROW: I think that's right. No one wants to harm the athletes, so the idea is that we're asking China to use this moment in time and use its point of leverage to bring an end to the suffering in Darfur.

I think calling for a boycott would close the door on a very valuable interval of time in which, behind closed doors, presumably, China will use its pressure on Khartoum. That's what the hope is.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

BLITZER: Mia Farrow, speaking with me earlier here in "The Situation Room" in Washington.

When we come back, President Bush warned this week that a withdrawal from Iraq would lead to a situation eerily similar to the devastating violence that erupted in southeast Asia after the U.S. left Vietnam. Does this analogy hold water, or is there a different lesson to be learned? We'll speak live with Vietnam War veteran, the former U.S. senator from Georgia, Max Cleland. All that, when we come back.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

BLITZER: Welcome back to "Late Edition." I'm Wolf Blitzer, in Washington.

President Bush had repeatedly rejected any analogy between the wars in Iraq and Vietnam. But this week, the president surprised many people when he compared the potential aftermath of a U.S. withdrawal from Iraq to what occurred in southeast Asia after U.S. troops left Vietnam.

Joining us now with unique perspective on this is the Vietnam War veteran, the former U.S. senator from Georgia, the Democrat, Max Cleland.

Senator Cleland, welcome back to "Late Edition."

MAX CLELAND, FORMER U.S. SENATOR: Good morning, Wolf.

BLITZER: Here's what the president said, in part, the other day before the Veterans of Foreign Wars, making the comparison between the wars in Iraq and Vietnam. Listen to this.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

GEORGE W. BUSH, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES: Whatever your position is on that debate, one unmistakable legacy of Vietnam is that the price of America's withdrawal was paid by millions of innocent citizens whose agonies would add to our vocabulary new terms like "boat people," "re-education camps," and "killing fields."

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: Senator Cleland, yesterday you delivered the Democratic Party radio address to the nation.

Give us your reaction to this comment from the president, saying, "Whatever you think about the wars themselves, if the U.S. were to leave Iraq right now quickly, it would be a disaster for the Iraqis?"

CLELAND: Oh, I think it's a disaster for the president to say that, after 10 years in Vietnam, 3.5 million people served, young Americans like me, 350,000 wounded and 58,000 dead, that somehow that rationale for staying in Vietnam longer, after 10 years, longer after we left there, is somehow a rationale for staying in Iraq. That is ludicrous.

First of all, the killing fields were in Cambodia.

Yes, there was an aftermath, for which we paid a price and the Vietnamese paid a price. But we paid a hell of a big price being there. And that's the argument in Iraq.

This is a political war in Iraq, not one that we can solve militarily. That is the key point. Therefore, we should withdraw our forces and let the politics of Iraq take care of itself.

BLITZER: Well, what the president is suggesting, though, if the U.S. were to withdraw, there would not only be killing fields, there'd be genocide in Iraq.

And even further, he goes on and says that the terrorists in Iraq would then follow Americans to the United States. He points out, like Senator McCain, that the Vietnamese never followed the United States to the United States.

CLELAND: Well, I mean, the very terrorists that we're after, Al Qaida, attacked us in '01, in 9/11. That's who we should be after. We have no business, militarily, in Iraq. We should be after, militarily, after Al Qaida, which is morphing around the world.

As a matter of fact, the longer we stay in Iraq, the more terrorists we create, not only there, but around the world. We're invading the Muslim world, we're making it impossible for Iraq to get its act together, and we're having young Americans killed daily and wounded daily.

The thing about the VFW speech that angered me most was that fact that he never mentioned anything about the signature wound coming out of Iraq, which is the traumatic brain injury; he never mentioned the mess at Walter Reed, which he and his administration created, a thousand veterans, wounded veterans, left on hold; and finally, he never mentioned his responsibility to appoint a new secretary of the V.A., which he's got to do in a few days.

He never mentioned any of that: the cost of this war on the Americans. That's what I'm bothered about. And that's what we ought to be addressing.

BLITZER: Well, does the United States have a moral responsibility, whether or not the war was justified or not justified, to protect those Iraqis who cooperated with the United States, just as the United States protected many, if not all, of the Vietnamese who cooperated with us then? CLELAND: Yes, but with the international community. We cannot do this thing alone. They don't want to be made the 51st state, and we can't make them the 51st state. No leader there wants to be a puppet of the United States.

Therefore, it's time to withdraw our American military and allow the political situation to resolve itself and for Iraq to come together politically. That's the only thing that is going to solve Iraq. And we work with the other nations in the region and with the United Nations and with NATO to make sure we help stabilize Iraq.

Yes, we have a moral obligation, but we do not have an obligation to stay, certainly in terms of any connection with Vietnam.

It's interesting this president didn't go to Vietnam, and neither did this vice president. They know nothing about the Vietnam War, and it shows in that VFW speech.

BLITZER: Here's what Senator John Warner, the former chairman of the Armed Services Committee, proposed this week. Listen to this.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

SEN. JOHN W. WARNER, R-VA.: You do not want to lose the momentum, but certainly, in 160,000-plus, say, 5,000 could begin to redeploy and be home to their families and loved ones no later than Christmas of this year.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: What do you think of his proposal? He's breaking with the president.

CLELAND: He's right. That's exactly the course we ought to take. It is time to change course. Many of us have been saying that for a long time. And I'm so glad that my dear friend and very wise statesman, John Warner, has come to that conclusion.

BLITZER: Here's, though, what one top U.S. military commander, Major General Rick Lynch, said when asked earlier in the week if starting a withdrawal, even with a limited number, a symbolic number if you will, of 5,000 troops, what would happen if that were to occur, to get them out by Christmas. Listen to General Lynch.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

MAJOR GENERAL RICK LYNCH, COMMANDING GENERAL, MULTINATIONAL DIVISION-CENTER: And in my battlespace right now, if soldiers were to leave, coalition soldiers were to leave, having fought hard for that terrain, having denied the enemy their sanctuaries, what would happen is the enemy would come back. He'd start building the bombs again, he'd start attacking the locals again, and he'd start exporting that violence into Baghdad. And we would take a giant step backwards.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: All right. So what do you think, if you hear a commander like him saying that?

CLELAND: Well, welcome to Vietnam. You know, that happened when we were there. That's happening now,

all over the countryside. The death toll in Iraq is twice what it was among the civilians last year. We are creating more terrorists. We are doing more harm than good. That is the whole point.

We are not allowing the politics of Iraq to shape itself. And that is what the leaders there want and should be able to do. That is why we withdraw militarily. It is not an American military problem anymore. It is an Iraq political problem. And that is the key point.

BLITZER: Last week, Karl Rove, the outgoing presidential political adviser, was on "Fox News Sunday." And he was asked about you and your defeat in the campaign. Senator Saxby Chambliss ran at that time, your challenger.

This is what Karl Rove said, Senator Cleland. He said, "Senator Cleland was running a television ad saying that he supported the president on homeland security, when he was one of the senators who was blocking the passage of the homeland security bill."

And you remember some of those ads showing pictures of you with Saddam Hussein, Osama bin Laden. I wonder if you'd want to respond to what Karl Rove said last Sunday.

CLELAND: Well, you know, he's lying when his lips are moving.

BLITZER: Is that it? Is that what you want to say?

CLELAND: That's it.

BLITZER: Well, what about the substantive point when he says you were opposing the president's homeland security bill?

CLELAND: No, that -- as a matter of fact, I was a supporter and a cosponsor of legislation by John McCain and Joe Lieberman that created the Department of Homeland Security when the White House was actually opposing it. Then the Republicans on the floor of the Senate opposed the vote for cloture so we could move the bill forward.

So they created an issue. They didn't want a department; they wanted an issue to work against me and Jean Carnahan and others. They got the issue.

But I'll tell you, the courts reversed their actual stand on that legislation and gave those employees the right to civil service protection. And they should have it.

BLITZER: That same ad firm that was used then in that ad, some other controversial ads against, among others, Harold Ford in his bid for re-election in Tennessee, some other controversial ads, that same firm has now been retained by the Giuliani campaign to start producing ads.

How worried are you that this is going to get really ugly really quickly, this whole political process?

CLELAND: I think people are sick of that stuff. I think they're really sick of it.

And one of the things that offends me now is that Ari Fleischer is spending \$20 million in 30-second spots to go after Republicans who are ready to jump ship on the Iraq war and abandon the president on this stuff.

You know, we can't turn the future of our nation over to 30-second hit political ads that destroy people's character and courage. We can't do that.

The American people are going to revolt against that, and are revolting against Karl Rove politics as we speak.

BLITZER: Senator Max Cleland, thanks very much for coming in.

CLELAND: Thank you.

BLITZER: Republican Senator John Warner says that he would like to see at least 5,000 U.S. troops come home by Christmas. Will the U.S. military be ready to start withdrawing troops by the end of this year?

The number-two U.S. military commander in Iraq, Lieutenant General Ray Odierno, he's standing by live in Baghdad to answer that question and a lot more.

"Late Edition" will be right back.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

BLITZER: Welcome back to "Late Edition."

The political pressure for starting a U.S. troop withdrawal from Iraq is certainly mounting here in Washington. Lieutenant General Ray Odierno is the second ranking U.S. military commander on the ground in Iraq. He's joining us now live from Baghdad.

General, welcome back to "Late Edition." And let me get your immediate reaction to this one proposal we are now hearing to at least start a modest troop withdrawal by the end of this year by Christmas, get at least 5,000 of

those 162,000 U.S. troops out of Iraq. Is that doable?

LT. GEN. RAYMOND ODIERNO, U.S. ARMY: Well, frankly, Wolf, I'm trying to stay focused on the day-to-day operations we have ongoing here in Iraq. We are really trying -- we are really starting to make some progress here. We are moving ahead. We are reducing the number of incidents. We're reducing the number of IEDs. We're providing security for the Iraqi people. I'm trying to stay focused on that.

I've given General Petraeus my initial recommendation, and I will provide him a final recommendation just before he leaves to go back to the United States. I think it's appropriate to allow him to answer those questions as he provides his testimony.

BLITZER: That's a fair enough statement, General. The testimony that he's supposed to be bringing to Washington, testifying before Congress, supposed to happen by the middle of next month. By mid-September, the president will be sending his report. How is the military increase, the troop increase, going though right now, based on your latest assessment?

ODIERNO: Well, I think we're making progress. It's clear that we've had some success against Al Qaida. We have moved them out of all their safe havens. They are now on the run. We are in pursuit of Al Qaida all around Iraq.

We've now been able to go in and eliminate safe havens in Baqouba, southern Baghdad, areas south of Baghdad. We've continued to make tremendous progress in Anbar province.

And with that, we're now starting to move forward with local governments. We now have Sunnis coming forward that want to come back and join within the government of Iraq and we're starting a reconciliation program with these individuals.

BLITZER: But if the U.S. were to start reversing that trend -- in other words, pulling out, taking not the lead in these combat operations, but going to a support kind of operation, a training operation for Iraqi forces -- the National Intelligence Estimate that was publicly released this week suggests all of those gains would almost quickly -- almost immediately, be lost. Do you agree with that assessment?

ODIERNO: What I would say is -- what I've said all along, whatever we do, we must do it in a very deliberate fashion. And we must do it in such a way where we understand the gains we have will not be lost. I think we'll have a plan in place that allows us to do this.

The Iraqi security forces are making progress every single day. They are getting better. They are standing and fighting. We are seeing some progress. But we need to still give them more time to do this.

I would say, however, though, we all know that the surge of forces was temporary in nature. And we all know that's going to come to an end and we all understand that. And it's important that we decide when those forces begin to leave.

We know that the surge of forces will come at least through April at the latest, April of '08, and then we'll have to start to reduce. So we will make our judgment based on the fact that we know we cannot maintain the surge of forces and we know that they will start to reduce in April of '08 at the latest.

So I think based on that, I have provided recommendations to General Petraeus. And based on the continued improvement with Iraqi security forces, he will be able to make an appropriate assessment when he gets back in September. BLITZER: In fact, there was this intriguing line in The New York Times story yesterday. I'll read it to you, General: "General Peter Pace, the chairman of the Joint Chief of Staff and George W. Casey, Jr., the Army chief of staff, are said to be leaning toward a recommendation that steep reductions by the end of 2008, perhaps to half of the 20 combat brigades now in Iraq, should be the administration's goal."

That would bring the troop level down from about 162,000 right now to under 100,000. I want you to listen to what General Casey, though, said in Washington here on Wednesday. Listen to this.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

GEN. GEORGE CASEY, U.S. ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF: Today's Army is out of balance. We are consumed with meeting the current demands and we are unable to provide ready forces as rapidly as we would like for other contingencies.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: Is that why you think that this surge, the so-called troop increase, has to be over with by April because the Army, frankly, doesn't have enough troops to keep it going unless it were to increase the tours of duty in Iraq from currently 15 months -- and it was increased earlier from 12 -- to maybe 18 months or even longer?

ODIERNO: What I have to do as the commander over here is take that into consideration. That might not be the ultimate thing that makes me provide a recommendation, but I must consider that.

Clearly, the first thing is our success here in Iraq. And if I believe that we can end the surge in April of '08 and then also help the Army to continue to move forward and meet other commitments, then I'll make that recommendation.

But we've been forthright in everything that we've said, both General Petraeus and myself. And we will continue to be that way and we will say what we think we need in order to continue the success that has been started with this surge of forces.

BLITZER: How is that 15-month tour of duty working out in terms of morale for the troops, General?

ODIERNO: Yes. Well, I would tell you 15 months is a long time. It's a long time for the private, it's a long time for the sergeant, it's a long time for the Multi-National Corps Iraq commander. That is a long time to perform under a stressful situation. And I don't think that's the optimal time we want to have for our rotations.

The morale is good here. The soldiers -- we have surpassed all of our reenlistment goals for all of 2007. We've already done that here in August about six weeks prior to the end of the fiscal year. So that's a good indicator that morale here is pretty good. They understand what they're doing. They understand why they're doing it. And they want to accomplish the mission and they want to be successful.

BLITZER: The argument...

ODIERNO: But overall, the bottom line is the stress -- go ahead, Wolf.

BLITZER: No, no, no. Finish your thought.

ODIERNO: Well, I was going to say, it's the overall stress on the families and the soldiers conducting repeated tours that we must consider for the long-term viability of the Army. And we will consider that as we make our decisions.

BLITZER: The argument has always been, General, that as Iraqi forces step up and meet the needs, U.S. forces can step down. But here is a line from the new National Intelligence Estimate: "We judge that the Iraqi security forces have not improved enough to conduct major operations independent of the coalition on a sustained basis in multiple locations, and that the Iraqi security forces remain reliant on the coalition for important aspects of logistics and combat support."

And this comes after this intriguing article that was in The New York Times op-ed page a week or so ago from seven noncommissioned officers serving in Iraq who wrote this: "Reports that a majority of Iraqi army commanders are now reliable partners can be considered only misleading rhetoric. The truth is that battalion commanders, even if well meaning, have little to no influence over the thousands of obstinate men under them in an incoherent chain of command who are really loyal only to their militias."

Give us an honest assessment, General Odierno, of the Iraq military capability right now.

ODIERNO: I believe -- sure. I believe, first of all, those noncommissioned officers that wrote that, probably could be very true where they're at. I would tell you there's a variety of differences depending on your viewpoint.

And I believe in some areas, some commanders aren't as good as others. In other areas, they are performing very well. I get to see it across the entire board so I would say that they were doing a bit better.

The point I would make is we have to be extremely deliberate in what we do. We just can't tomorrow say we are going to turn everything in Iraq over to the Iraqi security forces. We must do it slowly over an extended period of time so we do not lose the security that we've gained here.

And that's the point; it's not that we don't want to turn it over and shouldn't. We all agree with that. It's about how we do it. And in my opinion, it should be done very deliberately, over time, to reduce the risk that they will fall back in the security gains we've made here in the last few months. BLITZER: The Associated Press has a story out this weekend saying the number of civilian deaths in Iraq this year, 2007, skyrocketing. They said last year, by their count, there were 13,811 civilian deaths in Iraq. So far this year, 14,800. On a daily basis, it's gone from 33 a day in 2006 so far to 62 a day in 2007.

Are those numbers consistent with what you're seeing, General?

ODIERNO: I read the article very quickly. I'm not familiar with where they got their numbers from, so I don't know how accurate they are.

What I do know is civilian deaths are down. Sectarian violence is down in Iraq; it is down in Baghdad. That's the numbers I track.

So I'm not sure where they got their numbers from, but what I do know is civilian deaths are down and sectarian violence is down.

BLITZER: One of your commanders, Brigadier General John Bednarek, spoke to our Michael Ware the other day. And he made the point that the very ambitious goal of a real, thriving democracy in Iraq may not necessarily be attainable right now. I want you to listen to what General Bednarek said.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

BRIGADIER GENERAL JOHN BEDNAREK, ASSISTANT DIVISION COMMANDER, MULTINATIONAL

DIVISION-NORTH: The democratic institutions is not necessarily the way ahead in a long-term future.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: Have you given up on that, General Odierno, in the short term, that there should be a thriving democracy in Iraq? Because, as you know, a lot of political problems under way right now.

ODIERNO: First I would say, the first we want is we want a government that is able to provide security and stability to the people, provide services to the people and serve the people. That's the most important part.

And that's what we're trying to get to first, is those basic capabilities that we need out of a government: to run itself, to be a regional partner, to be an international partner, to provide for its citizens equally and provide a rule of law that allows them to live in peace within their country. That's what we're after.

BLITZER: Here's another line from the National Intelligence Estimate, this on Iran, Iraq's neighbor, and what it's doing in Iraq right now.

The NIE says, "Over the next year, Tehran, concerned about a Sunni re-emergence in Iraq and U.S. efforts to limit Iranian influence, will continue to provide funding, weaponry and training to Iraqi Shia militants. Iran has been intensifying aspects of its lethal support for select groups of Iraqi Shia militants." Tell us what you're seeing on a day-to-day basis about what Iran is doing right now in Iraq.

ODIERNO: It's clear to me that, over the past 30 to 60 days, they have increased their support.

And they do it in three lines. They do it from providing weapons, ammunition, specifically mortars and explosively formed projectiles, a lethal form of IEDs. They are providing monetary support to some groups. And they are conducting training within Iran of Iraqi extremists to come back here and fight the United States.

BLITZER: General Odierno, we have to leave it right there. Good luck to you, all the men and women you command over there. Hopefully you'll be joining us soon here on CNN.

General Raymond Odierno, he's the number-two U.S. military commander in Iraq.

We'll take a quick break. Much more of our coverage, including Michael Ware in Baghdad, after this.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

BLITZER: There's much more ahead on "Late Edition," including our correspondent in Iraq, Michael Ware. We'll get his analysis on where things stand right now.

Also, Mitt Romney taking heat this week for his comments on abortion; Hillary Clinton for her remarks on Iraq and terrorism. We'll talk to two of their competitors, Democrat Bill Richardson, Republican Sam Brownback.

Plus, we'll get the latest from the campaign trail from part of the best political team on television.

Much more "Late Edition," right after this.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

BLITZER: Welcome back. We'll get to my interviews with two presidential candidates, Bill Richardson and Sam Brownback, in just a moment. First, though, let's go to Baghdad.

Our correspondent, Michael Ware, is standing by for some special insight into what's going on in Iraq right now and what we've just heard during the first hour of "Late Edition."

Michael, we heard the former interim prime minister of Iraq, Ayad Allawi, in an exclusive Sunday interview here, suggest that it's over with for Nouri al-Maliki, the prime minister; he's simply not up to the job.

Listen to this little clip of what Ayad Allawi told us.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP) ALLAWI: I am not doubting whether he's a good guy or not a good guy. But I am doubting the system of militias, of sectarianism, of trying to avoid the benchmarks which President Bush and the Congress have laid down for the government in Iraq. And I cannot see that this government will implement the benchmarks.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: All right, Michael, what do you think? You've been there for four years-plus. No one knows the situation better on the ground on a day-to-day basis. What do you think of what we're hearing from Ayad Allawi right now about Nouri al-Maliki?

MICHAEL WARE, CNN CORRESPONDENT: Well, I think the former prime minister's assessment is right.

Now, remember, Wolf, Ayad Allawi has been a stalwart for American support all through the '90s and since the invasion. Indeed, he's arguably America's closest political ally.

And if you listen to what the former prime minister says, he's not condemning Maliki personally, but the whole process. He's saying that the system, the government, the institutions that have been implanted here are not working.

Now, that's an assessment that we now know is shared by some very senior generals here on the ground in Iraq -- that's American generals.

And let's have a look at Dr. Allawi's past. In the mid-1990s, he and the CIA attempted a coup d'etat against Saddam Hussein. Then last year, in the summer, I interviewed Dr. Allawi, and at that time he told me Iraq did not have a real democracy and perhaps it had come too quickly for Iraq to digest. He was saying the system was failing.

Then, in February this year, he told me he'd just returned from Washington, D.C., where he told American policy-makers that, if the surge does not work, you need to consider installing an emergency government.

Now, Dr. Allawi told me that the response from the administration was not a yes, but it was not a no. And now we're hearing generals saying that maybe democracy is not working, and the embassy saying we're pursuing less lofty and ambitious democratic goals.

BLITZER: Well, is Dr. Allawi, Michael, the so-called strongman that the Iraqis might need to pick up the pieces right now?

WARE: Well, Dr. Allawi certainly is shaping himself as one of the key candidates. But I've known Dr. Allawi for years; he's been shaping himself that way since I've known him. And certainly, he's been close to certain American security agencies. They've certainly bet on him in the past.

And indeed, during the attempted coup d'etat in the 1990s, he did that with another Iraqi who had left Saddam Hussein's regime, General Muhammad Abdullah al-Shahwani. General Shahwani is currently the head of the Iraqi intelligence service, an intelligence service run and funded by the CIA, over which the Iraqi government has no control whatsoever.

Dr. Allawi has appealed to the Baathists and to the Sunnis and to secular moderates within the country and some Shia, all of whom were essentially abandoned by American support during elections, while Iranian-backed parties were flooded with money and Iranian support.

BLITZER: What did you think of what we heard from General Odierno, suggesting that some progress, in fact, is being achieved on the battlefield against Al Qaida in Iraq and other elements there?

Because the critics, a lot of critics, are suggesting, yes, there may be some progress, but it won't make much difference in the long run, as long as that sectarian rift that exists between the Sunni, the Shia and the Kurds continues to exist.

WARE: Yes, well, General Ray Odierno very much has his finger on the pulse of this war, and his assessment is entirely correct.

Yes, there has been some stabilization, some spectacular examples, like in al-Anbar province. Yes, it's forced changes in the type of violence that we're seeing here.

But Iraqi innocents are still dying in their hundreds and thousands every month. And what we're failing to address is how we achieving these successes in bringing down the violence is by cutting a deal with the tribes, the Baathists and the Sunni insurgents. It's by creating Sunni militias to counteract the government's own militias and the Iranian-backed militias. That's bound to have long-term consequences.

In many ways, part of what's being achieved is because America is turning somewhat, despite its rhetoric, against this government, fostering Sunni militias, questioning the role of this government, questioning whether it can actually perform.

And we Ambassador Crocker, just the other day, say that if Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki does not deliver, then American support is not at the end of a blank check. So he's threatening the prime minister.

BLITZER: Michael Ware, reporting for us from Baghdad.

Michael, stay safe over there. Thanks very much.

In the race for the White House, the war in Iraq is arguably the number-one issue with voters. Democratic presidential candidate Bill Richardson, the governor of New Mexico, is calling for a nearly immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Iraq. Over the next six months, he says, it can be achieved.

I spoke with the governor just a short while ago, on the campaign trail in New Hampshire.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

BLITZER: Governor Richardson, thanks very much for joining us.

You want U.S. troops, basically all of them, out of Iraq by the end of the year. You've said that on many occasions.

I want you to listen to what one top U.S. military commander, Army Major General Rick Lynch, said about that notion earlier in the week, even starting -- even starting -- a troop withdrawal by Christmas.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

LYNCH: I've got some great Iraqi army units in my battlespace, and we're working transitions there. But there's still such a detailed, complicated fight going on, that it's no town, between now and Christmas, to move some coalition forces out.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: And he was talking about what Senator John Warner is proposing, a symbolic 5,000-troop reduction by the end of this year.

What makes you think that you could get them all out by the end of the year?

GOV. BILL RICHARDSON (D), NEW MEXICO: Well, I've said six months, Wolf, but what I believe here, it's a question of logistics and tactics.

I am very firm, and my military advisers tell me, that we are able to move 240,000 troops -- we've already done it -- in and out of Iraq through Kuwait. I would move those troops out through roads in Kuwait and through Turkey. I think it's a matter of logistics. I think we'd have to leave some light equipment behind.

The issue is, there is no military solution. There's a political solution.

What has happened, Wolf, is that this surge is not working. There's a double number of Iraqi deaths every day now since the surge started. This summer was the deadliest in months for our kids dying in Iraq.

You cannot start a peace process, a reconciliation, a peacekeeping force in Iraq that rebuilds the country without getting all of our troops out with no residual forces.

BLITZER: All right. Your colleagues, your Democratic rivals, say it's impossible to do it that quickly. Listen to these little clips.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIPS)

SEN. JOSEPH BIDEN, D-DEL., PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE: The bottom line is, it's going to take one full year, if you argued tomorrow, to get every single troop out.

SEN. HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON, D-N.Y., PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE: Joe is right, that this is going to take a while.

FORMER SEN. JOHN EDWARDS, D-N.C., PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE: Well, I think it would be hard to do by September.

SEN. BARACK OBAMA, D-ILL., PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE: I think Joe is right on the issue of how long this is going to take.

(END VIDEO CLIPS)

BLITZER: All right. They're saying it would probably take a year to do it in a responsible fashion.

RICHARDSON: Well, I was U.N. ambassador; I spent 80 percent of my time on the Iraqi issue. I visited the region. I know the players there.

We can get it done, but the issue is, where we disagree with all the candidates, my position, is no residual forces. What all of those candidates have proposed is leave 25,000, 50,000 behind that are non-combat troops. And what I say, if you take the combat troops out, who is going to protect the non-combat troops?

My view, Wolf, is that our policy has been a massive failure. The surge is failing.

What we have is more deaths of our troops in the last summer than ever before, double the number of Iraqi deaths, civilian deaths -- this is a new A.P. report yesterday that says that since the surge started, the violence has increased, particularly in the northern provinces.

I believe that you cannot start a rebuilding process until all our troops are out. And I stand behind that six month...

BLITZER: Well, what about -- what about the moral argument that such a quick U.S. withdrawal could result in not only brutality, but genocide in Iraq? What moral responsibility does the United States have to try to prevent that?

RICHARDSON: Well, we have to but, Wolf, there is sectarian violence now. It's a civil war now.

The Maliki government is falling apart. They're doing very little about bringing reconciliation. The training of

the Iraqi troops is at an alarmingly slow pace.

You've got Maliki flirting with Iran right now. I mean, is this guy our ally? This is an incompetent government, and now we're starting to shift the blame to the Maliki government.

So I believe the best step is a withdrawal, but with a diplomatic plan that brings the three Iraqi entities together in a possible partition, in an all-Muslim peacekeeping force, in division of oil revenues, a sharing of power. The Maliki government is doing nothing, and we are increasing the violence there, making our troops the top targets. This is making no sense.

BLITZER: Here's what Senator Clinton said the other day, before the convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. I want to listen -- I want you to listen to it and then we'll talk about it.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

SEN. HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON, D-N.Y.: We've begun to change tactics in Iraq, and in some areas, particularly in Al Anbar province, it's working. We're just years too late changing our tactics.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: All right. She's acknowledging now that some of these new military tactics are, in fact, working.

Why not give it more time?

RICHARDSON: Well, I totally disagree with her. I don't see how she can say that, because the level of violence has increased, particularly in the northern provinces. The number of Iraqi deaths has doubled, almost 62 per day. This has been the deadliest summer on record for U.S. troops. The Maliki government is falling apart. I don't see how she can say that.

I disagree with her, too, when she says that what we have is an America safer since 9/11 under President Bush. I don't see how she can say that with the intelligence estimates from our own people basically saying that Al Qaida, since 9/11, has regrouped, has increased their presence obviously in Iraq and around the world. So, you know, we have some strong disagreements.

I disagree with her also that we can leave 75,000 troops there at a time when -- and she says that they should be non-combat troops, take the combat troops out. How are our troops going to defend themselves unless they are combat troops? So this is a fundamental difference.

BLITZER: Here's what President Bush told that same VFW, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, convention, this dire assessment.

Listen.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

BUSH: If we were to abandon the Iraqi people, the terrorists would be emboldened. They would use their victory to gain new recruits. As we saw on September the 11th, a terrorist safe haven on the other side of the world can bring death and destruction to the streets of our own cities.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: You want to respond to the president? RICHARDSON: Well, yes. I think he's flat wrong. His policy is failing.

Here's what I believe can happen. If we withdraw our troops, you've got the insurgents that have been united today with Al Qaida, with the terrorists, against our troops. That's what unites them.

If we get out, then the insurgents will start fighting the terrorists and they will -- nobody likes foreign fighters in Iraq. So this argument where our presence has brought a lot of that terrorist element into the country, what we need is diplomacy.

We need to bring Syria. We need to bring Iran. We need to have an all-Muslim peacekeeping force headed by the United Nations to enforce a reconciliation of the three entities.

What will hold Iraq together -- I believe, Iran, Syria, Saudi Arabia -- nobody wants Iraq to fall apart. Nobody wants a stream of refugees coming into the area. So what brings everybody together is regional stability, and that can only happen after we withdraw all of our troops. But push for diplomacy.

So I'm not just saying the U.S. should get out. We should take our presence out, put some forces in Kuwait, where we are wanted, put some forces in Afghanistan, where Al Qaida and terrorism are a threat, and then bring a regional solution by our U.S. diplomacy engaging and leading, instead of overreaction and contributing to a surge that is only making things worse.

BLITZER: Governor Bill Richardson, Democrat of New Mexico. He's a Democratic presidential candidate.

Governor, thanks for joining us.

RICHARDSON: Thank you.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

BLITZER: And straight ahead, Republican front-runner Mitt Romney has been defending his anti-abortion position, but some of his public rivals are still skeptical. We'll talk to one of his critics, Senator Sam Brownback of Kansas. He's standing by live. We'll talk about that, the war in Iraq, a lot more. Stay with "Late Edition."

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

BLITZER: Welcome back to "Late Edition." I'm Wolf Blitzer in Washington. We just heard from Democratic presidential candidate Bill Richardson. Now we turn to the Republican side of the presidential race. Joining us, Senator Sam Brownback. He's not necessarily the front-runner, but he did finish third in the recent Iowa Republican straw poll. He's joining us from his home state in Topeka, Kansas.

Senator, welcome back to "Late Edition."

SEN. SAM BROWNBACK (R), KANSAS: Thanks, Wolf. Good to join you. BLITZER: Let's talk about your colleague, Senator John Warner, arguably one of the most influential members of the U.S. Senate on national security, on military matters. He's now urging the president, in effect, to start a timeline for withdrawal.

And he said on "Meet the Press" earlier today, among other things, that if the president refuses to go forward with some sort of plan along those lines, he might even support Democratic legislation to back it. I wonder if you are willing to go as far as Senator Warner.

BROWNBACK: I'm not. And Senator Warner, all along, has said he opposes a timetable because a timetable gives your opponent, Al Qaida, a chance really to declare a victory and says, "at this point in time, we win." And a timetable really doesn't work.

I think what John Warner is saying, though, is what we need to start pushing for our troop levels to come down, and -- and -- the political surge to begin in Iraq.

I think what you're going to see out of General Petraeus' report middle of September is that there's been very good military progress and little to no political progress. And it's now time, it's past time, that we need to take advantage of the military situation for a political surge and deals to be made in Iraq for stability.

BLITZER: Here is what the senator, John Warner, said on "Meet the Press" among other things. He said, "I'm going to have to evaluate. I don't say that as a threat. I say that as an option. We'll have to consider if, in fact" -- if, in fact the president doesn't go ahead and start ordering at least moderate troop withdrawals.

He also said this. Listen to this clip.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

WARNER: You can initiate a first withdrawal. You pick the number, Mr. President. And it would send a signal to the Iraqi government that matches your words. His words being, "We're not going to be there forever."

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: All right. You will acknowledge that the Senator Warner is arguably one of the most influential Republicans when it comes to military matters.

BROWNBACK: Absolutely. No question about it. John is a strong guy, strong military, strong military background.

(CROSSTALK)

BLITZER: But let me interrupt for a second, Senator Brownback because I say that and wonder, as a lot of the so-called pundits have suggested, that if the president lost John Warner, are other Republicans, including yourself, in danger?

BROWNBACK: No, and I don't think he's lost John Warner. I mean, John's not supporting a timetable. He's talking about setting some sort of indicator that this isn't an open-ended commitment. And I think that's correct. Wolf, I think we really ought to look at what's taking place and congratulate the troops. I mean, they have really produced some particularly impressive results in Al Anbar and some other places around in Iraq. And I wasn't supportive of the surge at the outset.

But now is the time you cut the deal, you send Jim Baker. The president sends Jim Baker, meets with the key Sunni, Shia and Kurdish leaders, brings them all together in a Dayton type of operation and says, "We have got to have the political deal now. We've got to get some sort of political situation here on the ground that will work durably, long term." Now is the time to do that.

BLITZER: Here is what the National Intelligence Estimate, the declassified summary, said this week among other things on the Iraqi government -- not the military, the government: "The Iraqi government will become more precarious over the next six to 12 months."

It goes on to say: "The level of overall violence including attacks on and casualties among civilians remains high. Iraq's sectarian groups remain unreconciled. Al Qaida Iraq retains the ability to conduct high-profile attacks and to date, Iraq political leaders remain unable to govern effectively."

That is a huge vote of no confidence, I think you'll agree, on the Iraqi government of Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki.

BROWNBACK: Well, I think it reflects what the political situation is on the ground given this division that's currently in place. And as you know, Wolf, and I've said on this show, I think we should push Iraq into a three state solution, three states within one country.

And I think if you would do that, particularly now in the Sunni area and give the Sunni region and people some confidence that they're going to have a place that will be secure, you can get another piece of the pie that's more stable. The Kurdish region has been generally pretty stable. You can get now, I think, the Sunni region to be more stable.

And then you're left with the Shia, which is still very divided and Baghdad, which is a mixed city. And you're going to have to have work taking place there. But those are sort of political solutions that I think are within reach now and have to be reached now, given what you just read with the National Intelligence Estimate.

BLITZER: Senator Carl Levin, the chairman of the Armed Services Committee, Senator Hillary Clinton, the Democratic presidential front-runner, they say it's time for Nouri al-Maliki, the prime minister, to step down. Some Republicans are saying that as well.

Here is what he said today, Nouri al-Maliki. He said: "There are American officials who consider Iraq as if it were one of their village, for example, Hillary Clinton and Carl Levin. I asked them to come back to their senses and to talk in a respectful way about Iraq."

Earlier, in the week, on Wednesday, he said: "We will pay no attention. We care for our people and our constitution and can find friends elsewhere" -- this, after he visited Damascus and met with the Syrian president, Bashar al-Assad. This after he once again visited Tehran and met with the Iranian president, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad.

Is this guy, the leader of Iraq, Nouri al-Maliki, from your perspective, a friend of the United States?

BROWNBACK: I think he's a friend of the United States. I think he's also a product of their system. I think given what the setup is in Iraq today, that you're going to get a leader like Maliki. I think you're going to get somebody that's a weak Shia leader is what you're probably going to get because that's all that you can produce out of this system.

That's why I think you've got to take that constitutional step on further forward and produce and have other regions like the Kurdish region in the Sunni area and the Shia area where you have strong leadership taking place in those regions.

I think Maliki is a product of the system. I think you've got to look at that systems change is really the key here for us to look forward to the future, get something that's more durable.

BLITZER: Let's talk about the presidential campaign right now. Mitt Romney, he won that Iowa straw poll, as you know. He said this on Tuesday. He said: "My view is that the Supreme Court has made an error in saying at the national level one-size-fits-all for the whole nation. Instead, I would let states make their choice."

He was referring to abortion rights for women. This after -- on August 6th, he told ABC that he supports the Republican platform that opposes abortion rights for women. I know you're a very, very strong opponent of abortion, but tell us what you think about the latest nuance in Governor Romney's stance.

BROWNBACK: Well, I'm not sure what to really make of it. I'm appreciative of his changes on life issues. My point of view has been, Wolf, that it's hard to lead a nation on such a tough social issue, moral issue, if you don't have conviction on it yourself.

I think this is one of the key moral issues of our day, that we should treat life as sacred and sacred at all times, all places and whoever it is, whether it's a child in the womb or a child in Darfur. And I think it's hard to lead if you, yourself, are not perceived as being committed on it or very clear on it. I'm glad to see his position on it.

BLITZER: But do you agree with this, Senator Brownback, that this should be an issue left up to the states, not the federal government? BROWNBACK: I support a human life amendment. I think the sequence of events are that we should get a Supreme Court that's a strict constructionist Supreme Court that I believe should overturn Roe v. Wade. That sends the issue back to the states. I believe we should have a human life amendment that recognizes that life begins at conception and protects that life.

BLITZER: Senator Brownback, thanks very much for coming in.

BROWNBACK: Thanks for -- good to join you, Wolf.

BLITZER: Thank you.

And coming up next on the campaign trail, John Edwards comes out firing straight at Senator Hillary Clinton. It's been polite, relatively speaking, so far, but just how nasty could the race for the Democratic nomination get? Here what part of the best political team on television has to say about that and a lot more when "Late Edition" returns.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

BLITZER: Our political panel coming up, but let's take a quick look at where some of the U.S. presidential candidates will be spending some time over the next few days on the campaign trail.

Senator Barack Obama heads to the Bluegrass State today for a rally in Lexington, Kentucky.

Mike Huckabee will be in New Orleans Tuesday for what's being called a Hope and Recovery Summit on the second anniversary of Hurricane Katrina.

Senator Joe Biden will be in Iowa Tuesday for a town hall meeting.

Republican Congressman Ron Paul is holding a barbecue birthday bash today in his home state of Texas.

Democratic Congressman Dennis Kucinich will be in Iowa tomorrow, participating in a cancer forum.

And Mitt Romney heads down south Tuesday to campaign in Atlanta.

On the campaign trail, with some of the presidential candidates.

The politics of the war surged to a new level this week, while things got hot on both the Republican and Democratic presidential campaign trails. We're going to get some special insight on all of it from part of the best political team on television, when "Late Edition" continues.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

BLITZER: Welcome back to "Late Edition." I'm Wolf Blitzer, in Washington. Congress is in recess, but here in Washington politics almost never takes a holiday. From Senator John Warner's Iraq bombshell to an increasingly testy race for the president, a lot of key developments.

So let's get right to it with three of the best political team on television: at the presidential ranch in Crawford, Texas, where Mr. Bush is vacationing, our White House correspondent, Ed Henry -- he is not vacationing; here in Washington, CNN's congressional correspondent, Dana Bash; and CNN's Joe Johns, who keeps politicians honest on "Anderson Cooper 360."

Guys, thanks very much for coming in.

Here's the latest Gallup poll, which came out recently. Choice for the Republican presidential nominee: Giuliani is still the frontrunner, with 32 percent; Fred Thompson not officially in, expected to come in, at 19 percent; Romney, 14; McCain, 11; everybody else in single digits.

Ed Henry, here's a commercial, a commercial, that the Romney campaign put out this week on immigration, which clearly is directed at the frontrunner, Rudy Giuliani.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

NARRATOR: Immigration laws don't work if they're ignored. That's the problem with cities like Newark, San Francisco and New York City that adopt sanctuary policies. Sanctuary cities become magnets that encourage illegal immigration and undermine secure borders.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: All right. Now, the point is that Rudy Giuliani, when he was mayor of New York, had a very liberal policy, as far as illegal immigrants is concerned.

Is this an effective ad that is likely to score points among the Republican base?

ED HENRY, CNN CORRESPONDENT: It can be, for two reasons.

Number one, immigration, as we know, is a fiery issue. Just ask John McCain. He ran afoul of the conservatives in his own party. He's dropped, plummeted, from the frontrunner to, I guess, fourth in that poll you just showed.

Secondly, let's face it, Giuliani's the frontrunner. So what do you have to do if you're Mitt Romney, Fred Thompson? You've got to start attacking the frontrunner.

We're seeing the same thing on the Democratic side, of course, too, where you've got Obama and Edwards going after Hillary Clinton.

BLITZER: And we also now have, Dana, Fred Thompson, the former U.S. senator from Tennessee -- not officially in the race yet, expected to come in -- going after Giuliani, with this he put on his Web site the other day:

"Unfortunately, New York is trying again to force its ways on the rest of us. The same activist federal judge from Brooklyn who provided Mayor Giuliani's administration with the legal ruling it sought to sue gun makers has done it again. We need federalism to protect states from a big bully in New York City."

The point being that Rudy Giuliani had opposed the kind of gun restrictions, the gun laws, if you will, that Fred Thompson and others now say they support.

DANA BASH, CNN CORRESPONDENT: Right. I mean, if you're a Republican running for president and you're scratching your head, saying, "Why is Rudy Giuliani doing so well," as you just showed in that poll, you go after him with, sort of, Politics 101 of how you run a Republican race: You remind Republican primary voters, conservatives, that Rudy Giuliani is pro-gun, he is pro-abortion rights and that he is pro-gay rights.

And that's what you saw with Fred Thompson, somebody who really has built his reputation, if you will, as somebody who really has fought for gun rights.

So, as I said, it's sort of 101.

BLITZER: So how vulnerable is Giuliani, Joe? Because, as you know, it's been consistent, at least on the national polls. He's been the frontrunner for months and months and months, and they have not been able to chip away at that.

JOE JOHNS, CNN CORRESPONDENT: Well, it's going to be tough to really make some inroads until you have, perhaps, that new candidate in the race.

A lot of people talk about Fred Thompson. The question has always been, really, when you look at the polls and the support that Fred Thompson seems to have, is that a reflection of the fact that he's just not any of the other people in the race? And once he gets in the race, once he gets to the debates, is he going to be able to, sort of, generate that support among the conservative base that can take you through the primaries?

So it's really a function of, you know, whether or not this new blood will inject some new thought among the people who are voting for the Republican nominee.

BLITZER: Speaking of Fred Thompson, Mike Huckabee, the former governor of Arkansas, himself a Republican presidential candidate, he was on T.V. earlier today. Listen to what he said, the advice he offered to Fred Thompson.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

FORMER GOVERNOR MIKE HUCKABEE, REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE: Let's just hope Fred decides it's just too hot this summer to even do this. Maybe he won't get in. But if he does, I think he's going to suck a lot of the oxygen out of the room when he first comes in. But I'm not sure I would want to be in his position, where the expectations are simply just sky-high for him to be able to perform.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: Ed, what do you think? Fred Thompson, in, out. Why is he waiting and waiting and waiting?

HENRY: A lot of people in the Republican Party are wondering about that. They think he should've gotten in sooner and gotten some more momentum to his campaign. His camp feels that there's still plenty of time, but obviously we all know this clock is ticking much faster this time around than it has previously.

I think Mike Huckabee, though, is probably a little too hopeful. It's clear Thompson is going to get in. He didn't do quite as well as he had hoped in fund-raising, Thompson, over the last few months. But maybe when he finally gets in and makes it clear that he's in and going to stay in, maybe he can start generating some of that momentum.

BLITZER: Dana, let's move to the Democratic side, because they're sniping at Hillary Clinton. She's the frontrunner. The latest Gallup poll has her at 48 percent nationally among Democratic voters; Obama, 25 percent; Edwards, 13 percent; everybody else in single digits.

Edwards is going after Hillary Clinton directly. Listen to what he said in New Hampshire on Thursday.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

EDWARDS: The American people deserve to know that their presidency is not for sale, the Lincoln Bedroom is not for rent, and lobbyist money can no longer influence policy in the House or the Senate. The problem with nostalgia is, what we tend to do, is you only remember what you like -- right? -- and you forget the parts that you didn't like.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: All right. Now, that was widely seen as a slap at Hillary Clinton, the reference to the Lincoln Bedroom, for example, not for sale. He's now insisting it wasn't a slap at Hillary Clinton, but anybody listening to it on Thursday, you couldn't help but draw that conclusion.

BASH: Oh, there's no question. Do you remember the "Seinfeld" episode, "Bizarro World"? That's pretty much what this was. Because, look, the Edwards campaign made very clear before the speech that we were going to hear the former senator go after Hillary Clinton big time. And just as you said, it was impossible to read that any other way. Then the next day, Senator Edwards said, "Well, no, I wasn't really going after Senator Clinton." But the bottom line is, he was. And he was for a very specific reason: the poll you just showed. Now, he is, like, 13 percent, and Senator Clinton is in the high 40s. And that this is the way you get attention right now, is to attack the frontrunner, and that's exactly what he did.

BLITZER: And almost all of the frontrunners, Joe, almost all of the other candidates, the Democratic candidates, have gone after Hillary Clinton for these comments she made on Thursday. I'll put it up on the screen.

"It's a horrible prospect to ask yourself, 'What if? What if?' But if certain things happen between now and the election, particularly with respect to terrorism, that will automatically give the Republicans an advantage again, no matter how badly they have mishandled it, no matter how much more dangerous they have made the world. So I think I'm the best of the Democrats to deal with that as well."

Edwards, Richardson, Dodd, they're all going after her, saying, "What are they talking about, that the Republicans have an advantage on this issue of fighting terrorism?"

JOHNS: Well, if we do have another catastrophic terrorist attack -- that's been asked again and again and again, I know, on Capitol Hill, and a lot of people have tried to run the traps on that -- who will see the advantage. So, perhaps there's something to that. You just can't say.

What we do see among these Democrats, though, is this sense that they've got to fight the notion that Hillary Clinton represents the good old days. And basically what they seem to be trying to do is turn her into old news, as opposed to the good old days.

It's not clear at all that that's going to be effective, because, after all, she is sort of the known commodity among Democrats right now.

BLITZER: All right, guys, stand by, because we have a lot more to talk about.

Much more with our political panel to discuss, including John Warner's bombshell here in Washington this week. At least that's how a lot of people are viewing it. He's breaking with the president on Iraq, to a certain degree.

Also, the Senate's top Republican, Mitch McConnell, talked about what he thinks will happen after next month's Iraq progress report today on another Sunday morning talk show. We're going to tell you what he had to say in our "In Case You Missed It" segment.

Stay with us. You're watching "Late Edition."

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

BLITZER: More with our political panel in a moment. But now, "In Case You Missed It," let's check some of the highlights from the other Sunday morning talk shows here in the United States.

On all of the shows, the topic was the future of Iraq.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

SEN. MITCH MCCONNELL, R-KY.: I do think there's a good chance that in September we'll go in a different direction. I don't think that means an arbitrary surrender date, but I think it's entirely possible that the president will lay out a strategy that takes us into a different place.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

WARNER: All President Bush has got to do is back up his words, we're not going to be there forever.

This is just one idea. If there's a better idea, put it on the table, I say to those who criticize it. Put it on the table.

But the president has got to talk, I think -- put teeth in these comments that we're not there forever.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

SEN. JIM WEBB, D-VA.: We're not going to have stability in that region until the American troops are out of Iraq. We have to do it in a way that brings in the other countries around the region, allows us to focus on international terrorism, and doesn't destabilize the region. But it must be done.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

EDWARDS: I think that Maliki should quit worrying about Democrats and the presidential campaign in America and start worrying about what he needs to do in his own country.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: Some highlights from the other Sunday morning talk shows, here on "Late Edition," the last word in Sunday talk.

More of our political panel, when we come back.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

BLITZER: We're getting special insight and analysis on the week's big political developments from CNN's Ed Henry, CNN's Dana Bash and CNN's Joe Johns, all part of the best political team on television. Dana, today, Mitch McConnell and John Warner, they were on television and they had some intriguing things to say. I want to play a little clip.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

MCCONNELL: The political side of the Iraqi government is still pretty much a disaster.

WARNER: The government under the leadership of Maliki and other Iraqi leaders have totally failed to put the other part of that partnership in place, namely deliver greater security.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: And Senator Warner went further in leaving open the possibility, Dana, he might even vote with the Democrats on a troop withdrawal if the president doesn't start withdrawing troops from Iraq. That perked up my ears.

BASH: Absolutely, mine too. Because as big as it was, what Senator Warner did this past week in saying the president should start bringing a small number of troops home by Christmas, the bottom line question is -- in terms of votes and the politics of the votes that the Senate and the House take over and over again, is the Democrats' troop withdrawal deadline.

And John Warner made it clear just two days ago that he still is opposed to that, but he really did leave the door open this morning to that. And that is really the key.

When you look at sort of what would break the dam in terms of the politics of this, if John Warner were to ever vote for the Democrats' deadline for withdrawal, that would be the potential thing that would make Republicans follow in a way that they haven't before.

BLITZER: Ed Henry, you had a big story. You broke it this week here on CNN that a high-powered Washington Republican lobbying firm is now working for Ayad Allawi, the former interim prime minister of Iraq, effectively against the government of prime minister Nouri al-Maliki.

We had from Ayad Allawi in the first hour of "Late Edition," confirming what you reported, that he's come up with \$300,000 to pay this Republican lobbying firm over the next six months. He says he's getting the money from an Iraqi. But this has major ramifications for the White House.

HENRY: That's right. This is a Republican lobbying firm founded by Haley Barbour, the former Republican National Committee chairman, the current Mississippi governor, and these are Republican lobbyists very close to this White House.

That's why it's embarrassing to them to have these Republican lobbyists working for Allawi, who's trying to force out Maliki who, as we all know, the president took great public pains once again this week to clarify he's fully behind Maliki. So that's a potential political problem when you've got even Republicans now working against Maliki.

A second thing -- you alluded to it earlier about Maliki taking shots at Senators Clinton and Levin. They're fighting. Now you've got Senators Warner and McConnell going after Maliki as well. It looks like you've got Democrats, Republicans and Allawi all going after Maliki.

And the only person really standing with Maliki at this moment is the president of the United States. And Maliki is not a very popular person, someone who has not delivered by all accounts. And the president, really, is the only one standing with him right now.

BLITZER: Let me bring Joe Johns into this conversation, talk presidential politics for a second. Yesterday, we saw the Democratic Party threaten the state of Florida with not being able to come up with their delegates if they move up their primary and disrupt what is a carefully negotiated process to make sure that Iowa and New Hampshire, Nevada in between, all of them get their play.

Who is going to blink when it comes down the road? Because the ramifications are significant, Florida being, what, the fourth largest state in the country?

JOHNS: Well, they certainly are. And, I mean, the fact of the matter is, wherever those primaries are, we're going

to cover them, certainly.

On the other hand, a lot of people say that this is -- the danger here really is sort of the disruption of structural retail politics in the country, especially for those second tier candidates, those people who are going to get into the living rooms and the hallways and really convince the voters that they're the right person, that they ought to be included in this equation.

Now, those people may have a very difficult time, simply because the earlier you make the primaries, the more likely it is that the Democrats, with a lot of money and a lot of structure to their campaigns, are going to do well. So very high stakes here for the Democrats. They're trying to figure out how to keep the regular order going. And who knows how it's going to turn out. I guess we've got 30 days to see.

BLITZER: We only have a few seconds left, Dana, but I want -- you cover the Hill for us and you do an excellent job doing it. This Gallup poll, do you approve or disapprove of the way Congress is handling its job? Only 18 percent -- only 18 percent -- approve of this.

This is almost a year since the Democrats became the majority. What are you hearing from Democrats when you throw these numbers around to them and say, "Look what the American public thinks of the job that you're doing."

BASH: They're not happy about it. That's why right before they left for August recess, you saw them try very hard to pass as much as they can to try to combat those numbers. But Republicans have been seizing on that big time and they have been saying, "Wait a minute. You called us the do-nothing Congress. Look what the American people think of the Democrats."

And that's also why, privately, you do hear Democrats say that they're a little concerned about taking vote after vote on Iraq, that they know it's not getting them anywhere and maybe they need to focus more on things that they can show as accomplishments.

BLITZER: Dana Bash, thanks very much. Joe Johns, thanks to you. Ed Henry, doing hard work while the president is on vacation. And thanks to you as well.

And to our viewers, if you would like a recap of today's program, you can get highlights on our new and improved "Late Edition" podcast. Simply go to CNN.com/podcast.

Coming up at the top of the hour, "This Week at War" with host Tom Foreman.


(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

BLITZER: And that's your "Late Edition" for this Sunday, August 26. Please be sure to join me again next Sunday and every Sunday at 11:00 a.m. Eastern for two hours of the last word in Sunday talk.

I'm also in "The Situation Room" Monday through Friday from 4:00 to 6:00 p.m. Eastern, then another hour at 7:00 p.m. Eastern. Until then, thanks very much for watching. I'm Wolf Blitzer in Washington.

For our international viewers, stand by for world news. And for those of you in North America, "This Week at War" with Tom Foreman starts right now.

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Dr. Ayad Allawi

From: Dr. Ayad Allawi [DrAyadAllawi@allawi-for-iraq.com]
Sent: Monday, August 20, 2007 6:48 PM
Subject: A Plan for Iraq
Attachments: A Plan for Iraq.pdf; Six-Point Plan.pdf

A Plan for Iraq

By Ayad Allawi

Washington Post: Saturday, August 18, 2007; A13

Next month, Gen. David Petraeus, commander of U.S. forces in Iraq, and Ambassador Ryan Crocker will report to Congress on the situation in my country. I expect that the testimony of these two good men will be qualified and nuanced, as politics requires. I also expect that their assessment will not capture the totality of the tragedy -- that more than four years after its liberation from Saddam Hussein, Iraq is a failing state, not providing the most basic security and services to its people and contributing to an expanding crisis in the Middle East.

Let me be clear. Responsibility for the current mess in Iraq rests primarily with the Iraqi government, not with the United States. Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki has failed to take advantage of the Iraqi people's desire for peaceful and productive lives and of the enormous commitment and sacrifices made by the United States and other nations. The expected "crisis summit" in Baghdad is further evidence of the near-complete collapse of the Iraqi government. The best outcome of the summit is perhaps a renewed effort or commitment for the participants to work together, which may buy a few more weeks or months of cosmetic political activity. But there will be no lasting political reconciliation under Maliki's sectarian regime.

Who could have imagined that Iraq would be in such crisis more than four years after Saddam Hussein? Each month 2,000 to 3,000 Iraqi civilians are killed by terrorists and sectarian death squads. Electricity and water are available, at best, for only five to six hours a day. Baghdad, once evidence of Iraq's cultural, ethnic and religious diversity, is now a city of armed sectarian enclaves -- much like Beirut of the 1980s.

It is up to Iraqis to end the violence and bring stability, security and democracy to our country. I am working with my colleagues in parliament to build a nonsectarian majority coalition that will support the following six-point plan for a "new era" in Iraq and replace through democratic means the current Iraqi government.

- Iraq must be a full partner with the United States in the development of a security plan that leads to the withdrawal of the majority of U.S. forces over the next two years, and that, before then, gradually and substantially reduces the U.S. combat role. The United States is indispensable to peace and security in Iraq and the greater Middle East. But we owe it to America -- and, more important, to ourselves -- to start solving our own problems. This will not happen as long as the present government is in power.
- I propose declaring a state of emergency for Baghdad and all conflict areas. Iraq's security forces need to be reconstituted. Whenever possible, these reconstituted forces should absorb members of the sectarian and ethnic militias into a nonsectarian security command structure. Empowering militias is not a sustainable solution, because it perpetuates the tensions between communities and undermines the power and authority of the state. A state has no legitimacy if it cannot provide security.

12/10/2007

- We need a regional diplomatic strategy that increasingly invests the United Nations and the Arab world in Iraqi security and reconstruction. Washington should not shoulder this diplomatic burden alone, as it largely has until now. Prime Minister Maliki has squandered Iraq's credibility in Arab politics, and he cannot restore it. In addition, Iraq needs to be more assertive in telling Iran to end its interference in Iraqi affairs and in persuading Syria to play a more constructive role in Iraq.
- Iraq must be a single, independent federal state. We should empower local and provincial institutions at the expense of sectarian politics and an all-powerful and overbearing Baghdad. Religion should be a unifying -- not divisive -- force in my country. Iraqis, both Sunni and Shiite, should take pride in their Islamic identity. But when religious sectarianism dominates politics, terrorists and extremists emerge as the sole winners.
- National reconciliation requires an urgent commitment to moderation and ending sectarian violence by integrating all Iraqis into the political process. We should recognize the contribution of the Kurds and the Kurdistan Regional Government to Iraq's democratic future. Reconciliation requires the active engagement of prominent Iraqi Shiite and Sunni political and religious leaders. Maliki has stalled the passage of legislation, proposed in March, to reverse de-Baathification. That proposal should be passed immediately.
- The Iraqi economy has been handicapped by corruption and inadequate security. We must emphasize restoration of the most basic infrastructure. There can be no sustainable economic development and growth without reliable electricity, running and potable water, and basic health care. Over time, Iraq needs to build a free-market economy with a prominent role for the private sector.

It is past time for change at the top of the Iraqi government. Without that, no American military strategy or orderly withdrawal will succeed, and Iraq and the region will be left in chaos.

The writer was interim prime minister of Iraq from 2004 to 2005.

Link: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/08/17/AR2007081701579.html>

The Six-Point Plan for Iraq

1. US-Iraq Relations

- Work with the US on a security plan that leads to the withdrawal of most American forces from Iraq over the next 2 years, and gradually and substantially reduces the US combat role between now and then.
- Acknowledge the United States as indispensable over the long term to peace and stability in the Greater Middle East, although the peoples and governments of the region are ultimately responsible for solving their own problems.

2. Security: Ending Terrorism and Sectarian Violence

- Declare a State of Emergency, with the support and concurrence of the Parliament, for a finite duration of time, perhaps 2-3 years, until security is restored.
- Reorganize Iraqi security forces with 30-40% from existing units, 30-40% from disbanded units, and the balance with new recruits.
- Establish a ministerial-level security committee, in close liaison with the Multi-National Force in Iraq and the UN, as part of a long-term effort to disband and whenever possible integrate

militias into a non-sectarian security command structure.

- Do not allow Iraq to become an enclave from which Al-Qaeda could export terrorism to the rest of the world, including the United States and Europe.
- Prevent the Iraq tragedy from becoming a regional crisis.

3. **Iraq's Foreign Policy: Building a Regional Strategy**

- Intensify diplomatic efforts in support of more constructive engagement in Iraq by the GCC and the Arab League (which will not happen as long as Maliki is Prime Minister), the Islamic Conference Organization, and the G8.
- Enhance the role of the UN and the UN Security Council in Iraq.
- Commence direct negotiations with Iran and Syria to reach bilateral agreements on border security to seek to end terrorist violence in Iraq.
- Condemn Iranian and Syrian interference in the affairs of Iraq.
- Endorse the Arab League initiative for a just two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

4. **The State: Building an Independent, Federal Iraq**

- Remove through Parliamentary means the current Iraqi Government that has failed to build a "single, independent federal state" (per Article One of the Iraqi Constitution) and has not taken political advantage of the enormous American commitment to the future of Iraq.
- Stop the sectarian politics of the Maliki Government, which are destroying Iraq.
- Reduce and eventually end the direct role of religion in Iraqi politics, while emphasizing Iraq's Islamic identity, for both Sunni and Shiite Muslims.
- Recognize the importance of Iraqi Kurds and the Kurdistan Regional Government in building a new Iraq.

5. **Politics: National Reconciliation**

- Give priority to bringing Sunni leaders into the Iraqi political process.
- End de-baathification, while referring any legitimate offenders to judicial due process.
- Abandon Maliki's concept of sharing "political rights" and Baghdad Ministries based on sectarianism.
- Recognize the contribution of the Shiite religious leadership in Iraq and their centrality to any reconciliation in Iraq.
- Declare general amnesty to all except those who have been engaged in terrorism.

6. **Economy: Restoring Services & Establishing a Free-Market Economy**

- Rebuild Iraqi infrastructure, especially electricity and water.
- Gradually reduce subsidies on food and gasoline, as the economy picks up.
- Establish a free-market economy based upon private sector development, job creation, and deregulation of government controls on business.
- Enact a modern and market-oriented oil and gas law to optimize returns to the Iraqi people.

Note: Barbour Griffith & Rogers, LLC has filed registration statements under the Foreign Agents Registration Act with regard to its representation and dissemination of information on behalf of Dr. Ayad Allawi. Additional information is on file with the Foreign Agents Registration Unit of the Department of Justice in Washington DC.

Dr. Ayad Allawi

From: Dr. Ayad Allawi [DrAyadAllawi@allawi-for-iraq.com]
Sent: Tuesday, August 21, 2007 12:17 PM
Subject: A New Leader in Iraq
Attachments: WP - Senator Calls for Maliki's Ouster.pdf; WSJ - Maliki Faces Fresh Doubts.pdf

Please see today's news items regarding the increased skepticism of the Maliki government in *The New York Times* (embedded), *The Washington Post* and *The Wall Street Journal* (attached), along with a link to the joint statement made by Senators Carl Levin and John Warner.

JOINT STATEMENT BY SENATORS CARL LEVIN AND JOHN WARNER:

<http://www.senate.gov/~warner/pressoffice/pressreleases/20070820.htm>

Two Senators Call for New Leader in Iraq

The New York Times

August 21, 2007

By THOM SHANKER and MARK MAZZETTI

WASHINGTON, Aug. 20 — The chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, after completing a two-day tour of Iraq, said Monday that the government of Prime Minister Nuri Kamal al-Maliki should be voted from office because it has proved incapable of reaching the political compromises required to end violence there.

The Democratic chairman, Senator Carl Levin of Michigan, and the committee's ranking Republican, Senator John W. Warner of Virginia, who traveled to Iraq together, issued a joint statement that was only slightly more temperate than Mr. Levin's remarks. They warned that in the view of politicians in Washington, and of the American people, "time has run out" on attempts to forge a political consensus in Baghdad.

Mr. Levin said that in his view, the political stalemate in Iraq could be attributed to Mr. Maliki and other senior Iraqi officials who were unable to operate independently of religious and sectarian leaders.

"I've concluded that this is a government which cannot, is unable to, achieve a political settlement," Mr. Levin said. "It is too bound to its own sectarian roots, and it is too tied to forces in Iraq which do not yield themselves to compromise."

In a conference call with reporters from Tel Aviv, Mr. Levin called on the Iraqi Parliament to vote the Maliki government from power because it had "totally and utterly failed" to reach a political settlement, and to replace it with a team better able to forge national unity.

Mr. Levin and Mr. Warner are among their respective parties' most esteemed legislators on

national security issues. Their committee will be among those hearing directly from Gen. David H. Petraeus, the top commander in Iraq, and Ambassador Ryan C. Crocker when the two men deliver their report measuring military and political progress in Iraq next month. A White House spokesman said Monday that the Capitol Hill testimony could be expected on Sept. 11 or 12.

Mr. Warner did not explicitly call for the removal of the Maliki government. But he joined Mr. Levin in a joint statement that, while noting some success under the current troop increase in improving the security situation in Iraq, was tempered by a grim assessment of political progress.

"While we believe that the 'surge' is having measurable results, and has provided a degree of 'breathing space' for Iraqi politicians to make the political compromises which are essential for a political solution in Iraq, we are not optimistic about the prospects for those compromises," the joint statement said.

The statement warned that recent meetings among Iraqi political leaders "could be the last chance for this government to solve the Iraqi political crisis." Should that effort fail, the senators wrote, "we believe the Iraqi Council of Representatives and the Iraqi people need to judge the government of Iraq's record and determine what actions should be taken — consistent with the Iraqi Constitution — to form a true unity government to meet those responsibilities."

American intelligence agencies on Monday delivered to Congress their own assessment of the sectarian violence in Iraq and the prospects for political reconciliation there.

The new National Intelligence Estimate is an update to an earlier assessment completed in February, which painted a bleak picture of the ability of Iraqi politicians to tamp down sectarian violence.

The new N.I.E. should play a significant role in the upcoming Congressional debate about the course of the Iraq war, as it is likely to be used by both sides as a more independent assessment of the security situation than the Petraeus-Crocker report.

The assessment completed in February also said that Iraq's fractured military would be "hard-pressed" over the next 12 to 18 months to "execute significantly increased security responsibilities, and particularly to operate independently against Shia militias with any success."

Gordon D. Johndroe, the National Security Council spokesman, said President Bush was briefed about the new N.I.E. on Monday morning.

Jim Rutenberg contributed reporting from Ottawa.

Link: http://www.nytimes.com/2007/08/21/washington/21cong.html?_r=1&ref=world&oref=slogin

Note: Barbour Griffith & Rogers, LLC has filed registration statements under the Foreign Agents Registration Act with regard to its representation and dissemination of information on behalf of Dr. Ayad Allawi. Additional information is on file with the Foreign Agents Registration Unit of the Department of Justice in Washington DC.

Dr. Ayad Allawi

From: Dr. Ayad Allawi [DrAyadAllawi@allawi-for-iraq.com]
Sent: Friday, August 24, 2007 11:12 AM
Subject: Report Offers Grim View of Iraqi Leaders
Attachments: NIE - Prospects for Iraq's Stability.pdf

Please find attached the latest National Intelligence Estimate (NIE) concerning Iraq and an August 24, 2007, *New York Times* story detailing, in part, the NIE's key conclusions regarding the Maliki government.

Report Offers Grim View of Iraqi Leaders

The New York Times

August 24, 2007

By MARK MAZZETTI

WASHINGTON, Aug. 23 — A stark assessment released Thursday by the nation's intelligence agencies depicts a paralyzed Iraqi government unable to take advantage of the security gains achieved by the thousands of extra American troops dispatched to the country this year.

The assessment, known as a National Intelligence Estimate, casts strong doubts on the viability of the Bush administration strategy in Iraq. It gives a dim prognosis on the likelihood that Iraqi politicians can heal deep sectarian rifts before next spring, when American military commanders have said that a crunch on available troops will require reducing the United States' presence in Iraq.

But the report also implicitly criticizes proposals offered by Democrats, including several presidential candidates, who have called for a withdrawal of American combat troops from Iraq by next year and for a major shift in the American approach, from manpower-intensive counterinsurgency operations to lower-profile efforts aimed at supporting Iraqi troops and carrying out quick-strike counterterrorism raids.

Such a shift, the report says, would "erode security gains achieved thus far" and could return Iraq to a downward spiral of sectarian violence.

After a summer of rancorous debate over the future of America's mission in Iraq, the intelligence report is the most prominent and authoritative assessment to date of what the administration calls a surge strategy.

The report, which represents the consensus view of America's 16 intelligence agencies, suggests that policy makers face a dilemma. While the current strategy in Iraq has produced "measurable but uneven improvements" in security, it says, the approach has done little to bridge sectarian divides in Iraq. The report also says that pulling American troops out of Iraq would most likely make things far worse.

The intelligence estimate comes just weeks ahead of a long-awaited progress report by senior American officials in Baghdad about security and political conditions in the country. Within hours of its release on Thursday, the assessment had already begun to reshape the terms of a political dialogue that could again come to a boil next month.

One leading Republican, Senator John Warner of Virginia, called for President Bush to take the first steps toward a limited drawdown of troops, of perhaps 5,000 soldiers by the end of the year, as a way to send the Iraqi government a message that "we mean business" in saying the American commitment in Iraq is not open-ended.

White House officials said that the assessment was evidence that the American troop increase had begun to dampen violence in Iraq, that progress was possible and that a precipitous troop withdrawal would sow chaos.

Democrats said the report showed that the White House had failed in its effort to use the troop increase to promote political progress in Iraq, and that it was time for the United States to change course.

The report says that the influx of American troops in Iraq has achieved some successes in lowering sectarian violence, but concludes that Iraqi leaders "remain unable to govern effectively" and that the government of Prime Minister Nuri Kamal al-Maliki "will become more precarious over the next 6 to 12 months" as rival factions led by Mr. Maliki's fellow Shiites vie for power.

The assessment concludes that there is little reason to expect that Iraqi politicians will achieve significant gains before spring, when American commanders say they will have to begin to cut troop levels in Iraq, now at more than 160,000, to ease the burden on military personnel.

The report is optimistic about a number of what it calls "bottom up" security initiatives that have helped reduce violence in some parts of the country. Most prominent of these are efforts by Sunni tribal sheiks to band together against Islamic militants from Al Qaeda in Mesopotamia, the homegrown Sunni Arab insurgent group that American intelligence agencies have concluded is foreign-led.

But such local initiatives are also described in the report as a Catch-22. On one hand, they provide the "best prospect" for improving Iraqi security over the next year. But the assessment says that strong local initiatives could undermine Iraq's central government, which American officials say is essential to lasting peace.

The intelligence assessment also cites a growing perception inside Iraq that an American troop withdrawal would inevitably be another factor that could destabilize the Maliki government, encouraging factions anticipating a power vacuum "to seek local security solutions that could intensify sectarian violence."

Since being briefed on the report on Monday morning, President Bush has made comments widely interpreted as distancing him from Mr. Maliki, though White House officials insist that

the Iraqi leader still has Mr. Bush's support. Mr. Bush also called new attention to what he portrayed as the potentially catastrophic consequences of a hasty withdrawal.

Resuming his vacation at his ranch in Crawford, Tex., Mr. Bush made no public statement about the intelligence estimate. But a White House spokesman, Gordon D. Johndroe, portrayed the report as a mixed assessment of the situation in Iraq. He said that it showed both that the American troop increase in Iraq had significantly reduced the sectarian violence in Iraq and that the White House strategy was "headed in the right direction."

Mr. Johndroe said that the current military strategy in Iraq did not become "fully operational" until the middle of the summer, and added that it was frustrating but not surprising that political progress in Iraq was lagging.

But Democrats seized on the report, issuing a flurry of press releases portraying the administration's Iraq strategy as having failed.

"Further pursuit of the administration's flawed escalation strategy is not in our nation's best interests," said Senator Harry Reid of Nevada, the majority leader. Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton of New York, a Democratic presidential candidate, said the report had provided "additional evidence" that Mr. Bush's approach "has failed," and added, "We need to stop refereeing this civil war, and start getting out now."

In their attacks, Democrats ignored the report's criticism of the approach that has been a common theme of their own Iraq proposals, which have emphasized a withdrawal of American combat troops. Most Democrats have urged that American forces who stay in Iraq limit their operations to training, support and quick-strike counterterrorism missions.

Mr. Warner, a senior Republican on the Senate Armed Services Committee, said he had not spoken personally to Mr. Bush about his recommendation for a troop drawdown. But in a news conference in the Capitol, as he returned from a visit to Iraq, Mr. Warner urged the president to announce in September that he would bring a limited number of troops home, preferably before Christmas.

The intelligence assessment predicts that Iraq's neighbors, especially Iran and Syria, will step up efforts to exert influence over Iraq's feuding factions. Intelligence officials on Thursday said that Sunni nations in the Middle East, most prominently Saudi Arabia, were monitoring events in Iraq, possibly with an eye toward intervening on behalf of Sunnis in the country.

But intelligence officials made clear on Thursday that it was Iraqi leaders who had the most power to influence the future of their country. For months, American officials in Baghdad have stressed that any military gains would be ephemeral if Iraqi politicians were unable to find political solutions.

Adm. Michael G. Mullen, the incoming chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, told members of Congress last month that without political progress in Iraq, "no amount of troops in no amount of time will make much of a difference."

Steven Lee Myers contributed reporting from Crawford, Tex., and Sheryl Gay Stolberg and Jeff Zeleny from Washington.

Link: <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/08/24/washington/24policy.html?adxnnl=1&ref=todayspaper&adxnnlx=1187939214-De7kjymvJXTtN7vyho2fCg&pagewanted=all>

Note: Barbour Griffith & Rogers, LLC has filed registration statements under the Foreign Agents Registration Act with regard to its representation and dissemination of information on behalf of Dr. Ayad Allawi. Additional information is on file with the Foreign Agents Registration Unit of the Department of Justice in Washington DC.

Dr. Ayad Allawi

From: Dr. Ayad Allawi [DrAyadAllawi@allawi-for-iraq.com]

Sent: Friday, August 24, 2007 5:28 PM

Subject: Now We're Getting Somewhere

Now We're Getting Somewhere

The Iraq debate comes down to Earth.

By Charles Krauthammer

National Review Online; August 24, 2007

After months of surreality, the Iraq debate has quite abruptly acquired a relationship to reality. Following the Democratic victory last November, panicked Republican senators began rifling the thesaurus to find exactly the right phrase to express exactly the right nuance to establish exactly the right distance from the president's Iraq policy, while Murtha Democrats searched for exactly the right legislative ruse to force a retreat from Iraq without appearing to do so.

In the last month, however, as a consensus has emerged about realities on the ground in Iraq, a reasoned debate has begun. A number of fair-minded observers, both critics and supporters of the war, agree that the surge has yielded considerable military progress, while at the national political level the Maliki government remains a disaster.

The latest report from the battlefield is from Carl Levin, Democratic chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee and a strong Iraq-war critic. He returned saying essentially what we have heard from Michael O'Hanlon and Kenneth Pollack of the Brookings Institution and various liberal congressmen, the latest being Brian Baird (D., Wash.): Al Qaeda has been seriously set back as Sunni tribal leaders in Anbar, Diyala, and other provinces switched from the insurgency to our side.

As critics acknowledge military improvement, the administration is finally beginning to concede the political reality that the Maliki government is hopeless. Bush's own national-security adviser had said as much in a leaked memo back in November. I and others have been arguing that for months. And when Levin returned and openly called for the Iraqi parliament to vote out the Maliki government, the president pointedly refused to contradict him.

This convergence about the actual situation in Baghdad will take some of the drama out the highly anticipated Petraeus moment next month. We know what the general and Ambassador Ryan Crocker are going to say when they testify before Congress because multiple sources have already told us what is happening on the ground.

There will, of course, be the Harry Reids and those on the far Left who will deny inconvenient reality. Reid will continue to call the surge a failure, as he has since even before it began. And the Left will continue to portray Gen. David Petraeus as an unscrupulous commander quite prepared to send his troops into a hopeless battle in order to advance his political ambitions (although exactly how that works is not clear).

But the serious voices will prevail. When the Democratic presidential frontrunner concedes that the surge “is working” (albeit very late) against the insurgency, and when Petraeus himself concedes that the surge cannot continue indefinitely, making inevitable a drawdown of troops sometime in the middle of next year, the terms of the Iraq debate become narrow and the policy question simple: What do we do right now — continue the surge or cut it short and begin withdrawal?

Serious people like Levin argue that with a nonfunctional and sectarian Baghdad government, we can never achieve national reconciliation. Thus the current military successes will prove ephemeral.

The problem with this argument is that it confuses long term and short term. In the longer run, there must be a national unity government. But in the shorter term, our assumption that a national unity government is required to pacify the Sunni insurgency turned out to be false. The Sunnis have turned against al Qaeda and are gradually switching sides *in the absence* of any oil, federalism, or de-Baathification deal coming out of Baghdad.

In the interim, the surge is advancing our two immediate objectives in Iraq: (a) to defeat al-Qaeda in Iraq and prevent the emergence of an al-Qaeda mini-state, and (b) to pacify the Sunni insurgency, which began the post-liberation downward spiral of sectarian bloodshed, economic stagnation and aborted reconstruction.

Levin is right that we require a truly national government in Baghdad to obtain our ultimate objective of what O’Hanlon and Pollack call “sustainable stability.” The administration had vainly hoped that the surge would provide a window for the Maliki government to reform and become that kind of government. It will not.

We should have given up on Maliki long ago and begun to work with other parties in the Iraqi Parliament to bring down the government, yielding either a new coalition of less sectarian parties or, as Pollack has suggested, new elections.

The choice is difficult because replacing the Maliki government will take time and because there is no guarantee of ultimate political success. Nonetheless, continuing the surge while finally trying to change the central government is the most rational choice because the only available alternative is defeat — a defeat that is not at all inevitable and would be both catastrophic and self-inflicted.

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[q=NTRIOTUyOTAxZGU2MWRkZTJiYjVjNzA1YzYzYTQzNTI=](http://article.nationalreview.com/?q=NTRIOTUyOTAxZGU2MWRkZTJiYjVjNzA1YzYzYTQzNTI=)

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Dr. Ayad Allawi

From: Dr. Ayad Allawi [DrAyadAllawi@allawi-for-iraq.com]

Sent: Sunday, August 26, 2007 4:50 PM

Subject: Interview with Dr. Ayad Allawi -- CNN Late Edition

Interview with Dr. Ayad Allawi

August 26, 2007 Sunday

SHOW: CNN LATE EDITION WITH WOLF BLITZER

11:00 AM EST

WOLF BLITZER, HOST: It's 11:00 a.m. here in Washington, 8:00 a.m. in Los Angeles, 4:00 p.m. in London, 7:00 p.m. in Baghdad. Wherever you're watching from around the world, thanks very much for joining us for "Late Edition."

Let's get right to our first interview, a Sunday exclusive.

A new U.S. intelligence report says there has been some progress on the security front in Iraq, but it paints a bleak picture about the country's political leadership. The National Intelligence Estimate expresses serious doubts about the ability of the prime minister Nouri al-Maliki's government to bring Iraq's various factions together.

One of the prime minister's sharpest critics is the Iraqi former interim prime minister, Ayad Allawi. He joined me just a little while ago from Amman, Jordan.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

BLITZER: Dr. Allawi, thank you very much for joining us. Always good to have you back here on "Late Edition."

I read your article in The Washington Post a week ago last weekend, on August 18th. Among other things, you wrote these provocative words. You said, "Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki has squandered Iraq's credibility in Arab politics, and he cannot restore it. It is past time for change at the top of the Iraqi government. Without that, no American military strategy or orderly withdrawal will succeed, and Iraq and the region will be left in chaos."

Why have you lost all your confidence in the prime minister, Nouri al-Maliki?

AYAD ALLAWI, FORMER IRAQI PRIME MINISTER: Well, I lost my confidence, Wolf, really, in the process which is ongoing in Iraq, which is based on sectarianism. It's based on supporting militias to take the rule of law in their hands, to get away from assertive regional politics. That's why we, frankly, have lost our faith in the capability of the current government of salvaging the country and moving forward.

BLITZER: And you've pulled your ministers out of the government...

ALLAWI: Reconciliation...

BLITZER: And you have no intention of allowing them or calling on them to go back in?

ALLAWI: Unless the government decides to embark on a course of national unity or national reconciliation, on getting away from sectarianism, which is crushing the Iraqi people, it's very difficult to rejoin the government.

BLITZER: So you basically have lost...

ALLAWI: But we will...

BLITZER: ... total confidence.

ALLAWI: We will definitely -- sorry?

BLITZER: So you've basically lost total confidence in Nouri al- Maliki.

ALLAWI: It's not the person, Wolf, it's the system -- the system of running the government on sectarian basis, the system of running the government on non-reconciliation with the various groups in Iraq.

And this is, frankly, damaging the prospects for stability not only in Iraq but in the whole region. And it is affecting the mission of the United States, which we are trying to salvage at the same time.

My six points call for a full partnership with the United States, to save Iraq and salvage the American mission.

BLITZER: I want you to listen to what President Bush said on Wednesday about the prime minister, Nouri al-Maliki. Listen to President Bush.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

PRESIDENT GEORGE W. BUSH: Prime Minister Maliki's a good guy, good man, with a difficult job. And I support him.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: He's holding out hope that Nouri al-Maliki can get the job done. But you think, frankly -- and you're a very candid man -- the president's hope is not worth it?

ALLAWI: Well, I am not doubting whether he's a good guy or not a good guy. But I am doubting the system of militias, of sectarianism, of trying to avoid the benchmarks which

President Bush and the Congress have laid down for the government in Iraq.

And I cannot see that this government will implement the benchmarks. I don't see that we are getting closer to reconciliation. I don't see that we are getting closer to getting rid of militias. I am not seeing that we are getting closer to having an assertive policies, foreign policies, which would not allow Iran to intervene in Iraqi affairs.

That's why I think the United States ought to re-examine this strategy in full and to look forward to a proper and real reconciliation in Iraq. Because, otherwise, there will be no security, and if there is no security, Iraq will only go down the path of destruction and violence.

BLITZER: As you know, some influential people here in the United States are calling on Nouri al-Maliki to step down, including Democratic presidential candidate Hillary Clinton; the chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, Carl Levin; some Republicans as well.

He responded with some very, very terse words, Nouri al-Maliki, on Wednesday. He said this, he said, "We will pay no attention. We care for our people and our constitution and can find friends elsewhere."

Those words were seen here in Washington as pretty biting, given the enormous amount of support the United States has provided Iraq over these years.

What's your reaction when you heard Nouri al-Maliki's response to the criticism?

ALLAWI: Well, to be honest, I don't think we should personalize the issues here, Wolf. And I thank you for this candid question, which is very important.

I think, really, we are looking -- we are overlooking the realities in Iraq. Sectarianism and militias and terror are still crushing the Iraqi people and crushing the American soldiers and destroying the mission of the United States to help Iraq in stabilizing itself and stabilizing the region.

Now, the Iraqi people that Mr. Maliki claim are really the ones who are antagonizing what the Americans are saying are being crushed. Oppression is thriving in the country, and the destruction is almost total.

And we are facing a problem here. We need to save our country, and we need to work very hard to save our country and to save the American mission in Iraq. And these are two very important objectives that we want to stick to.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

BLITZER: Just ahead, more of my exclusive interview with the former prime minister of Iraq, Ayad Allawi. I'll ask him why he has now hired a high-powered Washington lobbying firm

with very close ties to the Bush White House to promote him as a replacement for Nouri al-Maliki.

And later, we'll get an assessment of military progress on the ground from the number-two U.S. military commander in Iraq, Lieutenant General Raymond Odierno. He's standing by live.

"Late Edition" will be right back.

BLITZER: Welcome back to "Late Edition." I'm Wolf Blitzer in Washington. Later this hour, we'll ask the number two U.S. military commander on the ground in Iraq how long he thinks it will be before U.S. troops start coming home. That interview with General Ray Odierno coming up. He's going to be joining us live.

But first, here's part two of my exclusive interview with the former prime minister of Iraq, Ayad Allawi.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

BLITZER: There is a lot of speculation, what happens in Iraq after Nouri al-Maliki, if his government should collapse, if he should step down.

There was this intriguing paragraph in today's Washington Post by the columnist David Ignatius, who wrote this -- and I'll read it to you -- "In 'back to the future' mode, the name being mentioned these days is Ayad Allawi, a former Baathist who was interim prime minister and has strong support among Sunnis, even though he's a secular Shiite. Allawi has bundles of money to help buy political support, but it comes from Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates rather than the United States."

Let's go through some of these points that David Ignatius makes and I'll give you a chance to respond. First of all, do you want to be prime minister of Iraq again?

ALLAWI: Well, frankly, Wolf, we want to change the sectarian system. We want to build Iraq worthy for all Iraqis, regardless of their ethnic or religious backgrounds. We want a moderate, strong, singular, independent, federal Iraq, which can be a positive force in peace and stability in the whole region and the world.

This is my main objective, and these are the points in the six- point plan which I am calling for. Definitely, we have a lot of supporters in the region, inside Iraq. The polls do indicate what I'm saying.

And I enjoy a very healthy relationship with the Arab world and with Islamic world, probably with the exception of Iran. But we need to progress things as -- to stabilize Iraq as much as we can, as humanly as possible. Otherwise, all of us will be in tremendous danger. So...

BLITZER: Does that...

ALLAWI: ... really, it's changing the -- it's changing the environment and changing the political landscape is the essential part of what I'm looking at, Wolf.

BLITZER: So can I assume that you would like to be prime minister again?

ALLAWI: It's not a matter of liking, Wolf. It's a matter of changing the political landscape. I wouldn't, frankly, be want to become a prime minister in a sectarian regime. This is something I reject, I refuse. It wouldn't be honorable to me.

I wouldn't advocate being a prime minister in a sectarian regime. But I would play my role in Iraq, in whatever capacity, as required, to change Iraq into a non-sectarian country, to a peaceful country, to a democratic -- really democratic country, pushing peace and stability throughout the region.

So I would not shy away from any position under such circumstances, but definitely under the rule of sectarianism, I'm not ready to join any position in the government.

BLITZER: All right, I'll assume that that means, yes, that under the right circumstances, you would want to be prime minister. But let me ask you the second part of the question raised by David Ignatius' column, that you're getting lots of money from Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. Is that true?

ALLAWI: I wish what he projects is correct. We need a lot of funds. Our adversaries in Iraq are heavily supported financially by other quarters. We are not. We fought the elections with virtually no support whatsoever, except for Iraqis and the Iraqis who support us.

And we are trying to look for financial support for the national program to save Iraq and save the region. But what Ignatius said -- although I respect him a lot, I trust him, he's an outstanding person -- is not that correct.

BLITZER: Well, let's talk about some of the money, because there was a story, as you know, in Washington this week, that you're retained the services of a prominent Republican-linked Washington lobbying firm, Barbour Griffith & Rogers, to do some public relations work for you here in the United States, and some reports suggesting you're paying them about \$300,000 over a six-month period.

Tell us why you need a Washington public relations lobbying firm to help you now.

ALLAWI: Wolf, I want to save Iraq. I want to save the mission of the United States. I am building a plan. I am trying to stop the deterioration and violence in Iraq. I am trying to reverse the course in Iraq into a less sectarian, non-sectarian course. And for that reason, we have developed a plan, a six-point plan. Because of the crucial role of the United States, we are asking this firm to help us to advocate our views, the views of the nationalistic Iraqis, the non-sectarian Iraqis.

re you, Wolf, that this payment is made by an Iraqi person who was a supporter of
 ALI VA, of myself, of our program, and he has supported this wholeheartedly, without
 attached.
 lar

active is to develop a plan to save Iraq and to save American lives, as well as, of
 lives, and to save the American mission in Iraq, and this is what we are looking
 at.

BLITZ. and the numbers that have been reported, \$300,000 over six months, those numbers
 are accurate?

ALLAWI: I think these numbers are accurate. I am not party to the exact amount, Wolf. But
 these figures are really much less than the figures that are being paid by others, our
 adversaries, who are advocating sectarianism and having satellite stations, TV stations, daily
 newspapers, Web sites, and what have you, broadcast.

We don't have this. We don't have such support. And the support we got is from an Iraqi
 person. I cannot unfortunately divulge his name. He is a supporter of our program, and I don't
 know the exact figure, but it is in the region that you mentioned. But the exact figure, I don't
 know.

BLITZER: If you had your way, Dr. Allawi, how much longer would U.S. troops need to stay
 in Iraq?

ALLAWI: I think this is one of the points we made, Wolf. We need a full partnership between
 us and the United States -- Iraq and the United States -- to work around a schedule of draw
 down which is matched by building the institutions of Iraq, institutions loyal to the country,
 not loyal to the sects, which are capable of shouldering and facing the threats which are being
 posed on Iraq.

I think if we talk around the region of two to two-and-a-half years, if we work in a full
 partnership with the United States, to have a draw-down. I think we are in the right direction.

BLITZER: And when would you want the U.S. to start that draw-down? How quickly do you
 believe the U.S. troops, from the 162,000 that are there right now, when would they start being
 able to reduce that number?

ALLAWI: I can't tell you. I'm out of office, Wolf. But my best guess, really, is for the United
 States and the Iraqi government, to work on a program, on a schedule, to start the draw-down
 as soon as possible.

As soon as the Iraqi forces are able to stand on their feet and provide security for the Iraqis I
 think the draw-down should start. I think there should be, currently now as we speak,
 formation of a higher committee between the two governments to look into this possibility.

BLITZER: One final question, Dr. Allawi. Our time is almost up. We're speaking to you -- you're in Amman, Jordan. When are you planning on going back to Baghdad, to try to rally your supporters there and get this political process moving?

ALLAWI: You can talk to me next week in Baghdad, inshallah, Wolf. I am going to Iraqi Kurdistan, and from there I'm going to Baghdad.

We are going to fight for our country. We are going to continue our belief in the political process. And we would look to the support of the United States, to continue support to Iraq and to stability and peace in the region. BLITZER: Dr. Ayad Allawi, the former interim prime minister of Iraq, joining us from Amman.

Thanks very much, Dr. Allawi. Good luck to you.

ALLAWI: Thank you, Wolf. Thank you very much.

Link: <http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0708/26/le.01.html>

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Dr. Ayad Allawi

From: Dr. Ayad Allawi [DrAyadAllawi@allawi-for-iraq.com]

Sent: Wednesday, August 29, 2007 3:40 PM

Subject: Praise for Prime Minister Ayad Allawi and the Iraqi Interim Government, 2004-2005

Praise for Prime Minister Ayad Allawi and the Iraqi Interim Government, 2004-2005

White House

- President George W. Bush: "Dr. Allawi is a strong leader. He endured exile for decades and survived assassination attempts by Saddam's regime. He was trained as a physician, has worked as a businessman and has always been an Iraqi patriot."
(Remarks by the President on Iraqi Interim Government, June 1, 2004)
- President George W. Bush: "I'm honored to stand with the Prime Minister of a free and sovereign Iraq. Welcome, Mr. Prime Minister. I applaud your leadership and your courage. It's my honor to welcome a friend to the White House."
(President Bush and Prime Minister Allawi Press Conference, September 23, 2004)
- White House Spokesman Scott McClellan: "Prime Minister Allawi, himself, has demonstrated his capabilities as the new Iraqi leader in charge of this government, his determination to fight the terrorist enemy within his country, and his eagerness to assume control of his control in order to improve the lives of the Iraqi people, as well as to continue to fight the terrorist threat within his country."
(Press Briefing on Iraq Transition, June 28, 2004)
- Paul Bremer, former administrator of the Coalition Provisional Authority in Iraq: "Our troops continue to work closely with Iraqis to isolate and destroy terrorist strongholds. And the United States is supporting Prime Minister Ayad Allawi in his determined effort to bring security and democracy to Iraq."
(“What I Really Said About Iraq”, The New York Times, October 8, 2004)
- President George W. Bush: "Prime Minister Allawi of Iraq authorized military operations to rid the city of Fallujah of Saddam holdouts and foreign terrorists. American Marines and soldiers, alongside Iraqi security forces, are on the offensive against the killers who have been using Fallujah as a base of operations for terrorist attacks, and who have held the local population in the grip of fear."
(President's Radio Address; November 13, 2004)

State Department

- Secretary of State Colin Powell: "I'm very impressed at the steps that Prime Minister Allawi has taken so far. He is showing great skill."
(“Powell Says Drive for Reform Coming from Within Mideast”, USINFO, June 16, 2004)
- Secretary of State Colin Powell: "Mr. Prime Minister, all of us in the United States and as the President has said to you, we are admiring of the courage that you have shown, the dedication you

have shown and the good start you are off to with your government.”

(*“Powell Lauds Initial Performance of Iraqi Government”*, USINFO; July 29, 2004)

- Secretary of State Colin Powell: “There’s no question that we have a dynamic leader in Prime Minister Allawi. He is acting with great courage, with very stern views, strong views about what he wants to do and how he’s going to go after these insurgents, and we’re very pleased at how he has taken hold and his ministers have taken hold and the new president has taken hold.”
(*“Powell Praises Iraqis’ Efforts to Re-establish Security: Calls Prime Minister Allawi a dynamic leader with great courage”*, USINFO, July 22, 2004)
- “Iraq Elections: Road to Democracy” Report, February 2005: “Although American diplomats and soldiers worked together with Iraqis to assist in making this electoral process a success, this is ultimately and uniquely a triumph of the Iraqi people—of Iraqi policemen and soldiers, of election workers, of political activists and journalists, of the [Allawi] interim government, and of the millions of voters voting for the first time in an election where their opinions and cherished dreams counted for something”
(*“Iraq Elections: Road to Democracy” Report, February 2005*)
- Section 2207 Report on Iraq Relief and Reconstruction, April 6, 2005: “Prime Minister Allawi, the Iraqi Interim Government (IIG), and the people of Iraq demonstrated their combined resolve, remarkable unity of purpose, and clear commitment to further Iraq’s transition to democracy despite intimidation.”
(*Section 2207 Report on Iraq Relief and Reconstruction, Released by the Bureau of Resource Management, April 6, 2005*)

US Congress

- “Senate Majority Leader Bill Frist and two colleagues made an unannounced visit to Baghdad on Saturday, meeting with Prime Minister Iyad Allawi. During two days in the region, they also met with civilian authorities, military commanders and troops. In a telephone interview, the senator said he was impressed with Dr. Allawi, a fellow physician-turned-political figure, and found him determined to bring “full-blown democracy” to Iraq.”
(*“Frist and 2 Others Meet Allawi in Iraq”*, *The New York Times*, June 6, 2004)
- “Sen. Joseph R. Biden Jr. (D-Del.) said he was “impressed by Allawi’s political sophistication” as well as his nerve and candor in privately acknowledging the challenges ahead. “He’s in a tough spot, but he was credible,” Biden said. Rep. James P. Moran Jr. (D-Va.) called Allawi “as good an instrument of stability as we could come up with.”
(*“Allawi Says All Iraq Will Vote; Powell Agrees, Despite Rumsfeld’s Talk of Partial Elections”*, *The Washington Post*, September 24, 2004)
- 108th Congress, House Resolution 691: “Expresses its gratitude to the Coalition forces, the Coalition Provisional Authority, the Iraqi Governing Council, the current Iraqi cabinet and government officials, and the many international bodies and voluntary organizations which have come to the aid of the people of Iraq in an effort to help them address the consequences of decades of misrule by the former regime of Saddam Hussein, as well as to the families of those mentioned in this paragraph, who have been lost in Iraq.”
(*H. RES. 691, “Congratulating the Interim Government of Iraq on its forthcoming assumption of sovereign authority in Iraq, June 23, 2004*)
- 108th Congress, Senate Resolution 397: “Whereas the Senate congratulates the Iraqi people,

expresses its appreciation to the Iraqi Interim Government, and reaffirms the United States desire for the people of Iraq to live in peace and freedom”

(S.RES.397: “Expressing the sense of the Senate on the transition of Iraq to a constitutionally elected government”, June 24, 2004)

- 109th Congress, House Resolution 60: “Expresses its thanks to the Interim Government of Iraq and the Independent Electoral Commission of Iraq, Iraqi and Coalition security forces, and the civilian United States and international partners of the Government of Iraq for their tenacious efforts to create the conditions in which a free election could be held;”
(H.RES.60: “Relating to the free election in Iraq held on January 30, 2005”, February 1, 2005)
- 109th Congress, Senate Resolution 38: “Whereas the hard work, contributions, vision, and sacrifices of the Interim Iraqi Government in undertaking major political, economic, social, and legal reforms and, in conjunction with the efforts of the Iraqi Independent Electoral Commission, in ensuring that Iraq held nationwide elections on January 30, and in not being intimidated by terrorist and insurgent forces resulted in the successful elections of January 30;”
(S.RES.38: “Commending the people of Iraq on the January 30, 2005, national elections”, February 8, 2005)

Media

- William Safire, *New York Times*: “Present Iraqi leaders like Alawi are clearly asserting themselves. We will not like all they insist upon. But they are lurching toward a democratic decision, and despite the hand-wringing of Gloomy Gus & Company, that's real progress.”
(“Progress in Iraq”, New York Times”, May 31, 2004)
- “One such indication is the emergence of Ayad Allawi, Iraq's interim prime minister, as a relatively strong and shrewd leader. Unlike the hydra-headed Iraqi Governing Council before him, Mr. Allawi has offered the country a commanding presence, and he has acted as aggressively as his limited resources probably allow. Criminals and some insurgents have been swiftly rounded up by the new government's police and security forces; meanwhile, Mr. Allawi has been working behind the scenes to broker deals with anti-government forces. His decision to reopen the newspaper of Shiite militant Moqtada Sadr, who led a bloody rebellion against the occupation authority in the spring, was bold and politically astute.”
(Editorial, “Iraq's Mixed Month”, Washington Post, August 1, 2004)
- “Allawi and his colleagues have made an impressive start in decidedly inauspicious circumstances... Their initial success accounts in no small part for the interim government's remarkable 68-percent approval rating (73 percent for Allawi personally), as against the dismal 28-percent rating registered by the former Iraqi Governing Council. And it is due in no small part to Allawi's straight talking to the Iraqi people, day after day.”
(John F. Cullinan, “Sovereignty Equals Responsibility”, National Review Online, June 30, 2004)
- “Prime Minister Ayad Allawi, reinforcing his reputation as a man ready to deal harshly with his adversaries, flew into the embattled city of Najaf on Sunday and said that there would be “no negotiations or truce” that would spare rebel fighters from American and Iraqi forces who have been waging a violent contest for control of the city's heart.”
(John Burns and Alex Berenson, “Iraq's Premier Takes a Hard Line Against Rebels”, The New York Times, August 9, 2004)

- David Brooks, *New York Times*: “The gradualists point to what just happened in Najaf as their model for how the Iraq war should proceed. First, Allawi laid down tough conditions: that Moktada al-Sadr's militia had to go. Then he convinced many of the locals that their lives would be better without lawless thugs in their midst. Then the U.S. attacked and weakened the terrorists.”
(*“Hawk vs. Hawk”*, *The New York Times*, September 14, 2004)
- David Brooks, *New York Times*: “It was clear from our conversation (and from the way other administration officials talk about decision-making in Iraq) that the charge that Allawi is a puppet is just absurd. Allawi has the best feel for which Iraqi community or faction has to be catered to on any given day, and how best to reach over and get some Sunni support for the government.”
(*“Quickening the Tempo in Iraq”*, *New York Times*, October 5, 2004)
- “When Allawi addressed some of the Iraqi troops, telling them they need to liberate a city held “hostage” by radicals and terrorists, they yelled in response “may they go to hell!” “To hell they will go,” replied Allawi. Victory in Iraq depends on that kind of national will prevailing in a battle for the country's, and the region's, soul.”
(*The Editors*, *“Into Fallujah”*, *National Review Online*, November 9, 2004)
- “Shiite towns that exploded in April, such as Najaf and Karbala, are peaceful, and many Iraqis appear willing to accept decisions by the government of Ayad Allawi to use U.S. forces to establish its authority. Mr. Allawi's own unflinching commitment, despite the hideous kidnapping of three close relatives, offered Iraqis vivid demonstration of his courage and of the savagery of his opposition.”
(*Editorial: The Battle in Fallujah*, *Washington Post*, November 11, 2004)
- “Many Iraqis view Mr. Allawi as a leader who can effectively crack down on the insurgency. One U.S. official said Mr. Allawi's popularity jumped after he allowed U.S. troops to enter the militant-ridden city of Fallujah in force. Iraqis said they saw Mr. Allawi as someone not afraid to take political risks for the sake of their security.....”
(*Farnaz Fassihi*, *“As Iraq Vote Nears, Allawi's Tough Aura Is a Plus”*, *Wall Street Journal*, January 28, 2005)
- David Ignatius, *Washington Post*: “Allawi's gift, in a land of conniving politicians, is that he is straightforward. He has been saying precisely the same thing about how to build a new Iraq ever since we first talked in 1991, when the idea of overthrowing Hussein seemed a fantasy. He has always argued that a stable Iraq could only be built on the foundations of the secular state that has been emerging since the 1920s -- including its army and civil service. He was making that same argument this week, just as passionately.”
(*“Allawi's Vision”*, *Washington Post*, February 18, 2005)

Note: Barbour Griffith & Rogers, LLC has filed registration statements under the Foreign Agents Registration Act with regard to its representation and dissemination of information on behalf of Dr. Ayad Allawi. Additional information is on file with the Foreign Agents Registration Unit of the Department of Justice in Washington DC.

Dr. Ayad Allawi

From: Dr. Ayad Allawi [DrAyadAllawi@allawi-for-iraq.com]

Sent: Friday, August 31, 2007 11:43 AM

Subject: Washington Post: Thinking Beyond Maliki by Charles Krauthammer

Thinking Beyond Maliki

Washington Post

By Charles Krauthammer

Friday, August 31, 2007; Page A15

The government of Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki has had more than 15 months to try to pacify the Sunni insurgency by offering national accords on oil-sharing, provincial elections and de-Baathification. It has done none of these. Instead, Gen. David Petraeus has pacified a considerable number of Sunni tribes with grants of local autonomy, guns and U.S. support in jointly fighting al-Qaeda.

Petraeus's strategy is not very pretty. It carries risk. But it has been effective.

The Shiite-dominated government in Baghdad, however, is not happy with Petraeus's actions. One top Maliki aide complained that they will leave Iraq "an armed society and militias."

What does he think Iraq is now? Except that many Sunni militias that were once shooting at Americans are now shooting at al-Qaeda.

The nature of the war is changing. In July, 73 percent of the attacks that caused U.S. casualties in Baghdad were from Shiite militants, not Sunnis. Maliki is no fool. As more Sunni tribes are pacified, he can see the final military chapter of this war coming into focus: the considerable power of the American military machine slowly turning its face to -- and its guns on -- Shiite extremists.

Of the many mistakes committed in Iraq, perhaps the most serious was to have failed to destroy Moqtada al-Sadr and the remains of his ragged army when we had him cornered and defeated in Najaf in 2004. As a consequence, we have to face him once again. The troop surge has already begun deadly and significant raids into Mahdi strongholds in Baghdad.

Sadr is hurting. On Wednesday, after many were killed in Shiite-on-Shiite fighting in Karbala, he called for a six-month moratorium on all military operations in order to permit him to "rehabilitate" his increasingly disorganized forces.

At the same time, however, Maliki is denouncing us for overkill in our raids on Shiite areas. A rift between Washington and Baghdad is opening. It will only widen as long as Maliki is in power.

Now, Maliki is no friend of Sadr or Iran. He knows that if they ultimately prevail, they will

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swallow him whole. But Maliki is too weak temperamentally and politically to make the decisive move in the other direction -- toward Sunni and Shiite moderates -- in order to make the necessary national compromises.

So he hedges his bets. He visits Iran and, then, while on a Syrian visit, responds to calls for the Iraqi parliament to bring his government down by saying, "Those who make such statements are bothered by our visit to Syria" and warning darkly that Iraq "can find friends elsewhere."

Maliki is not just weak but unreliable. Time is short. We should have long ago -- say, when national security adviser Stephen Hadley wrote his leaked memo last November about Maliki's failure -- begun working to have this dysfunctional government replaced.

Even the French foreign minister, upon returning from a recent fence-mending trip to Iraq, called for Maliki's replacement. (One can discount his later apology as pro forma.) Such suggestions are often denounced as hypocritical and contrary to democracy. Nonsense. In a parliamentary system, a government serves only if it continues to command confidence.

Does anyone imagine that Maliki enjoys the confidence of the majority of Iraqis? If he does not, parliament, representing the people, has the perfect right to vote no confidence and bring down the government.

And then? Rather than seek a new coalition as a shaky substitute, the better alternative is new elections. And this time we must not repeat the mistake of election by party list, a system almost designed to produce warlord leadership and unstable coalitions.

Sen. Lindsey Graham, returning from two weeks of reserve duty in Iraq, noted that the August parliamentary recess was beneficial because it allowed the members to hear from angry hometown citizens demanding political compromise and peace. But the problem with the current system is that Iraqi MPs are not elected by their hometown citizens. They are chosen by party bosses.

A sample of the countries that have chosen this absurd form of democracy -- Italy, Israel and Weimar Germany -- gives you an idea of the balkanized, unstable politics that party-list systems inevitably produce. With a constituency system (members elected by a real geographic entity), the Anbar sheiks would be the ones sitting in parliament negotiating on behalf of Sunnis -- not members of a faux-national Sunni party that represents very little.

New elections are not a panacea. They will take long to organize -- which is why we should have been working toward this months ago. But the reconciliation from below that is actually happening in the provinces could -- and logically should -- be making national reconciliation possible in Baghdad. We can't sit around forever waiting for Maliki.

This op-ed can also be found here: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/08/30/AR2007083001408.html?hpid=opinionsbox1>

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12/10/2007

Dr. Ayad Allawi

From: Dr. Ayad Allawi [DrAyadAllawi@allawi-for-iraq.com]
Sent: Tuesday, September 04, 2007 2:46 PM
Subject: The Record: Ayad Allawi as Prime Minister of the Iraqi Interim Government, 2004-2005
Attachments: Ayad Allawi's Record as Prime Minister of Iraq.pdf

The Record:**Ayad Allawi as Prime Minister of the Iraqi Interim Government, 2004-2005**

Ayad Allawi served as Prime Minister of the Iraqi Interim Government from May 28, 2004 to April 5, 2005. His term as prime minister is now considered by many Iraqis to be the most productive and promising since Iraq's liberation from Saddam Hussein.

Dr. Allawi has been involved in Iraqi politics for over three decades, a majority of which he spent as leader of the Iraqi National Accord (INA) – a democratic opposition movement to Saddam Hussein's regime. In February 1978, Dr. Allawi survived an assassination attempt by Ba'thist agents of Saddam Hussein while in exile in Surrey, UK.

Decisive Leadership

In welcoming Dr. Allawi to his post as Prime Minister of Iraq, President Bush said on June 1, 2004: "Dr. Allawi is a strong leader. He endured exile for decades and survived assassination attempts by Saddam's regime. He was trained as a physician, has worked as a businessman, and has always been an Iraqi patriot."

After meeting with Dr. Allawi on September 24, 2004, President Bush said: "I'm honored to stand with the Prime Minister of a free and sovereign Iraq. Welcome, Mr. Prime Minister. I applaud your leadership and your courage. It's my honor to welcome a friend to the White House."

Fighting Terrorism

Prime Minister Allawi made ending terrorism and sectarian violence a top priority for Iraq. His government aggressively fought both Sunni and Shiite terrorists with equal intensity. At great personal risk, he regularly visited the sites of terrorist attacks to show the Iraqi people that he stood with them against terrorists. Secretary of State Colin Powell remarked on July 22, 2004 that, "There's no question that we have a dynamic leader in Prime Minister Allawi. He is acting with great courage, with very stern views, strong views about what he wants to do and how he's going to go after these insurgents, and we're very pleased."

Two high-profile anti-terrorist campaigns show Allawi's even-handed and aggressive commitment to fighting terrorism.

In August 2004, American and Iraqi armed forces successfully cooperated in Najaf, battling the Mahdi Army of radical Shiite cleric Moqtada al-Sadr. As Prime Minister Allawi stated on August 9, 2004: "All the Mahdi Army fighters should abandon their weapons and leave the city...This is the core of the matter, and we will not waver. There will be absolutely no negotiations and no truce."

In November 2004, US and Iraqi forces jointly liberated Fallujah from Sunni and foreign insurgents led by terrorist leader Abu-Musab Al-Zarqawi. President Bush said in his weekly radio address on November 13, 2004: "Prime Minister Allawi of Iraq authorized military operations to rid the city of Fallujah of Saddam holdouts and foreign terrorists. American Marines and soldiers, alongside Iraqi security forces, are on the offensive against the killers who have been using Fallujah as a base of operations for terrorist attacks, and who have held the local population in the grip of fear."

Free Elections

Prime Minister Allawi managed the transition to Iraq's first free and fair elections in January 2005, one of the seminal events in the modern history of Iraq and in the Arab world.

In preparation for the elections, Prime Minister Allawi oversaw the creation of the Independent Electoral Commission of Iraq on May 31, 2004. His security policies ensured that the Iraqi people could safely and peacefully vote. In declaring a 60-day State of Emergency prior to the elections, Dr. Allawi stated: "We want to secure the country so elections can be done in a peaceful way and the Iraqi people can participate in the elections freely, without the intimidation by terrorists and by forces who are trying to wreck the political process in Iraq. So this is a message. I hope the terrorists get it because we are not going to be easy on them."

Despite threats from terrorists such as Abu-Musab Al-Zarqawi to "wash the streets in blood," and faced with Sunni boycotts, on January 30, 2005, more than 8.5 million Iraqis – over 58 percent of the eligible electorate – participated in the first genuinely free and fair election in Iraq's history, electing 275 representatives to the Iraqi National Assembly.

A February 2005 US State Department report on the elections said: "Although American diplomats and soldiers worked together with Iraqis to assist in making this electoral process a success, this is ultimately and uniquely a triumph of the Iraqi people – of Iraqi policemen and soldiers, of election workers, of political activists and journalists, of the interim government, and of the millions of voters voting for the first time in an election where their opinions and cherished dreams counted for something."

A US State Department report to Congress (Section 2207 Report on Iraq Relief and Reconstruction), on April 6, 2005, acknowledged the success of Allawi's government in managing the election process: "Prime Minister Allawi, the Iraqi Interim Government (IIG), and the people of Iraq demonstrated their combined resolve, remarkable unity of purpose, and clear commitment to further Iraq's transition to democracy despite intimidation."

National Reconciliation

Prime Minister Allawi promoted and enforced a non-sectarian approach to Iraqi politics. His Cabinet is notable, especially when compared to subsequent Iraqi governments, for its diversity and professionalism – a balanced mix of 32 lawyers, politicians, academics, human rights activists, engineers and businessmen – six of whom were women.

During his tenure as Prime Minister, Dr. Allawi endorsed the contribution of the Kurdistan Regional Government in securing a peaceful and multi-ethnic Iraqi federal state. Upon his meeting with Kurdish leader Massoud Barzani on July 11, 2004, Prime Minister Allawi said he was greatly impressed with the stability and development in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq. After the January 2005 elections, Dr. Allawi supported the aspirations of Kurdish leaders to take an active part in the Iraqi government. After a meeting with Massoud Barzani on February 10, 2005, Dr. Allawi argued: "If we want to build a united and democratic Iraq that gives everyone the same chance, a Kurd has the right to be a candidate for any function."

Both Dr. Allawi and the Kurdish leadership expressed a desire to continue their fruitful cooperation in the future. Toward the end of his term as Prime Minister, on March 29, 2005, Dr. Allawi announced: "Our political program is not an ethnic, sectarian or party program, but it is rather an Iraqi national one that is open to all Iraqis... In this regard, I may give an example of my brothers, the members of the Kurdistan Coalition, who are now insisting on our participation."

Prime Minister Allawi also sought to reverse the blanket de-baathification order of the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) in 2003, in order to allow former Baathist civil servants who were not convicted of any crimes to rejoin the Iraqi government. Dr. Allawi argued that indiscriminate de-baathification had, in fact, "deprived government departments of their best technocrats and triggered the collapse of an Iraqi state."

Subsequent Iraqi governments did not display Allawi's commitment to reversing the indiscriminate effects of de-baathification. Governance and national reconciliation in Iraq has suffered as a result.

The modification of de-baathification laws has since emerged as one of the key goals for judging Iraq's progress toward national reconciliation. In December 2006, the authors of the Iraq Study Group Report argued: "Political reconciliation requires the reintegration of Baathists and Arab nationalists into national life, with the leading figures of Saddam Hussein's regime excluded. The United States should encourage the return of qualified Iraqi professionals – Sunni or Shia, nationalist or ex-Baathist, Kurd or Turkmen or Christian or Arab – into the government" (Recommendation 27).

Likewise, the White House Initial Benchmark Assessment, released on January 12, 2007, has urged "Enacting and implementing legislation on de-Baathification reform" (Benchmark 2) and "Enacting and implementing legislation addressing amnesty" (Benchmark 6) as essential actions for national reconciliation in Iraq. Dr. Allawi supports immediate passage and

implementation of both of these laws.

Economic Reconstruction

Prime Minister Allawi also gave priority to rebuilding Iraq's economy, with several landmark achievements. The Iraqi Stock Exchange re-opened in June 2004. On November 24, 2004, Dr. Allawi's government signed a historic agreement with the "Paris Club", an unofficial group of 19 of the wealthiest industrialized nations, to reduce Iraq's \$39 billion debt by 80%. On December 17, 2004, the United States signed a similar agreement with the Iraqi Interim Government, writing off completely Iraq's \$4.1 billion debt. Also in December, the World Trade Organization agreed to begin accession talks with Iraq.

Under Dr. Allawi's guidance, Iraq's economy showed steady recovery. According to the National Strategy for Victory in Iraq report, released by the White House on November 30, 2005, Iraq's nominal GDP rose from \$13.6 billion in 2003 to \$25.5 billion in 2004, led primarily by the expansion of the oil sector, where production increased from an average of 1.58 million barrels per day in 2003 to an average of 2.25 million barrels per day in 2004. According to the International Monetary Fund, per capita GDP in Iraq rebounded to \$942 in 2004 (after dropping to \$518 in 2003) - and continued to increase to over \$1,200 in 2005, the result of Prime Minister Allawi's economic programs.

Foreign Policy

In order to secure a free and stable Iraq, Prime Minister Allawi pursued an aggressive foreign policy to strengthen Iraq's security and establish Iraq as a leader for a more stable and peaceful Middle East.

In the Middle East, Prime Minister Allawi restored Iraq's diplomatic ties with Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. He pressed Syria and Iran to play constructive roles in enforcing security on Iraq's borders. He signed protocols for security coordination and economic cooperation with Jordan, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Lebanon, Bahrain, Kuwait and Iran.

Prime Minister Allawi initiated the first major international conference on Iraq since U.S. forces toppled Saddam Hussein's regime. The Sharm el-Sheikh International Conference, which took place on November 22-24, 2004 in Egypt, brought together some 20 foreign ministers from the U.S., Europe, Russia, China, and the Middle East in addition to UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan and the leaders of the Arab League.

Prime Minister Allawi developed closer ties with international organizations, including NATO and the European Union. On June 28, 2004, NATO leaders at a summit in Istanbul agreed to offer training to Iraqi security forces. On November 4, 2004, Dr. Allawi visited NATO headquarters in Brussels to ask for further assistance and deepen NATO's commitment to the future of Iraq. In a speech to the NATO Council, Dr. Allawi said: "You represent in this room a key alliance in the world today - bringing together the common values of the rule-of-law, human rights, and a democratic system of government. The people in your countries cherish such values. Some are even lucky enough to take them for granted. But they are values for

which the Iraqi people and the Iraqi Government are fighting every day.”

Next day, on November 5, 2004, Prime Minister Allawi met with European Union leaders at the EU summit in Brussels, and obtained economic assistance of \$41.8 million to support elections in Iraq. The European Commission also pledged funds for a number of additional programs to support the election process in Iraq, including a collaborative program with the United Nations and the Iraqi Election Commission to train election observers. Speaking at a press conference, Prime Minister Allawi urged: "From this podium, I call on the countries which took a spectator role with regard to the Iraqi issue to cooperate with us to build a better Iraq and a better future. Iraq is determined to return to the international community, and it is also determined to make the international community return to it."

Iraq-US Relations

Throughout his term as Prime Minister, Dr. Allawi remained committed to US-Iraq relations as the bedrock of Iraqi security and its democratic future. Dr. Allawi told a joint session of Congress on September 24, 2004: "There are no words that can express the debt of gratitude that future generations of Iraqis will owe to Americans. It would have been easy to have turned your back on our plight, but this is not the tradition of this great country, nor for the first time in history you stood up with your allies for freedom and democracy...Now we are determined to honor your confidence and sacrifice by putting into practice in Iraq the values of liberty and democracy, which are so dear to you and which have triumphed over tyranny across our world. Creating a democratic, prosperous and stable nation, where differences are respected, human rights protected, and which lives in peace with itself and its neighbor, is our highest priority, our sternest challenge and our greatest goal. It is a vision, I assure you, shared by the vast majority of the Iraqi people."

Note: Barbour Griffith & Rogers, LLC has filed registration statements under the Foreign Agents Registration Act with regard to its representation and dissemination of information on behalf of Dr. Ayad Allawi. Additional information is on file with the Foreign Agents Registration Unit of the Department of Justice in Washington DC.

Dr. Ayad Allawi

From: Dr. Ayad Allawi [DrAyadAllawi@allawi-for-iraq.com]
Sent: Wednesday, September 05, 2007 6:32 PM
Subject: GAO Report: Iraqi Government Has Not Met Most Legislative, Security, and Economic Benchmarks
Attachments: GAO report and Ayad Allawi on Maliki government.pdf

Please find listed below:

- 1) A recent United States Government Accountability Office (GAO) report concerning the inability of the current Iraqi government to meet key political, security, and economic benchmarks.
- 2) Today's commentary by Dr. Ayad Allawi on CNN regarding the Maliki government, including claims that it has successfully protected minority rights in the Iraqi parliament.

1) United States Government Accountability Office (GAO)
Testimony Before the Committee on Foreign Relations, U. S. Senate
September 4, 2007

SECURING, STABILIZING, AND REBUILDING IRAQ: Iraqi Government Has Not Met Most Legislative, Security, and Economic Benchmarks

Statement of David M. Walker, Comptroller General of the United States

GAO Assessment of the 18 Benchmarks

As of August 30, 2007, the Iraqi government met 3, partially met 4, and did not meet 11 of its 18 benchmarks. Overall, key legislation has not been passed, violence remains high, and it is unclear whether the Iraqi government will spend \$10 billion in reconstruction funds.

Most Legislative Benchmarks Have Yet to Be Enacted and Implemented

The Iraqi government met one of eight legislative benchmarks: the rights of minority political parties in Iraq's legislature are protected. [Please see comment below by Dr. Ayad Allawi on minority rights in the Iraqi parliament]. The government also partially met one benchmark – to enact and implement legislation on the formation of regions; this law was enacted in October 2006 but will not be implemented until April 2008. Six other legislative benchmarks have not been met. Specifically, a review committee has not completed work on important revisions to Iraq's constitution. Further, the government has not enacted legislation on de-Ba'athification, oil revenue sharing, provincial elections, amnesty, and militia disarmament.

Mixed Results in Achieving Security Benchmarks

Two of nine security benchmarks have been met. Specifically, Iraq's government has

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established various committees in support of the Baghdad security plan and established almost all of the planned Joint Security Stations in Baghdad. The government has partially met the benchmarks of providing three trained and ready brigades for Baghdad operations and eliminating safe havens for outlawed groups. Five other benchmarks have not been met. The government has not eliminated militia control of local security, eliminated political intervention in military operations, ensured even-handed enforcement of the law, increased army units capable of independent operations, and ensured that political authorities made no false accusations against security forces. It is unclear whether sectarian violence in Iraq has decreased – a key security benchmark – since it is difficult to measure perpetrators' intents, and various other measures of population security from different sources show differing trends. As displayed in figure 4, average daily attacks against civilians have remained unchanged from February to July 2007.

Conclusions

As of August 30, 2007, the Iraqi government met 3, partially met 4, and had not met 11 of 18 legislative, security, and economic benchmarks. The Iraqi government has not fulfilled commitments it first made in June 2006 to advance legislative, security, and economic measures that would promote national reconciliation among Iraq's warring factions. Of particular concern is the lack of progress on de-Ba'athification legislation that could promote greater Sunni participation in the national government and comprehensive hydrocarbon legislation that would distribute Iraq's vast oil wealth. In late August, Iraq's senior Shi'a, Sunni Arab and Kurdish political leaders signed a Unity Accord signaling efforts to foster greater national reconciliation. The Accord covered draft legislation on de-Ba'athification reform and provincial powers laws, as well as setting up a mechanism to release some Sunni detainees being held without charges. However, the polarization of Iraq's major sects and ethnic groups and fighting among Shi'a factions further diminishes the stability of Iraq's governing coalition and its potential to enact legislation needed for sectarian reconciliation. Reconciliation was also premised on a reduction in violence. While the Baghdad security plan was intended to reduce sectarian violence, it is unclear whether violence has been reduced. Measuring such violence may be difficult since the perpetrators' intents are not clearly known. Other measures, such as the number of enemy-initiated attacks, show that violence has remained high through July 2007.

Link to the Senate testimony on GAO report:

<http://www.senate.gov/~foreign/hearings/2007/hr070904p.html>

2) New Congressional Report Examines Iraq Prospects

CNN - Your World Today

Date: September 5, 2007

Time: 12:00 pm

ASIEH NAMDAR, CNN CORRESPONDENT: Iraq's former prime minister is call on the current office holder to step down. Ayad Allawi was Iraq's first post-Saddam Hussein prime

minister. He's currently challenging Prime Minister Nuri al Maliki's Shiite-dominated government. And in an interview with our own Aneesh Raman, Allawi became the first mainstream Iraqi politician to demand Maliki's resignation.

ANEESH RAMAN, CNN CORRESPONDENT: He was Iraq's first post-Saddam prime minister, interim by title, unelected at the time, Ayad Allawi was ultimately branded by his opponents as an American puppet. Now the head of a secular political block that's walked out of his cabinet, Allawi has returned he said to save the country. And for the first time is calling for Nuri al Maliki to step down. In your view should the prime minister resign?

AYAD ALLAWI: I wouldn't stay for a second in office.

RAMAN: Allawi is the first head of a party to call for Maliki's resignation, because he says, for some time, Maliki has ignored calls to rid the government of sectarian infiltration, allowing among other things undue Iranian influence. He's launched a major public relations campaign, in Washington and inside Iraq, to challenge the ruling Shia coalition from within, trying to provide an alternative path to marginalize Sunnis, wavering Shiites and the influential Kurds. Allawi isn't holding back against the U.S. either, challenging the recent government accountability report.

The political benchmark that they are saying is met is ensuring that the rights of minority political parties, which you would represent in the Iraqi legislature, are protected. Has that been met?

ALLAWI: No. They are being harassed and intimidated and they pulled out of the government. And they arrested liberal forces like us are being faced with -- with pressure and extreme pressure.

RAMAN: The political odds are on paper stacked heavily against Ayad Allawi, a secular politician hoping to reform a sectarian government. But his views are the views of many in Iraq. Looking for something to change.

NAMDAR: Aneesh joins us now live from Baghdad with more on the battle of the Iraqi prime ministers. And, Aneesh, what are we to make of the timing of Allawi's call for Nuri al Maliki to step down? Aneesh?

RAMAN: Well, clearly, he's looking to change this government. He isn't calling for new parliamentary elections, but his only hope, and I'm sorry, I think there's a delay in our communications right now. His only hope really is to chip away at the main Shia coalition in the parliament. There are 275 seats total. They have just under a majority. About 128. If he can get some of them to shift, he can perhaps try and get the Kurds and the Sunnis he's trying to bring into the political process to support him. The main issue he contends, Muqtada al Sadr, for him Ayad Allawi is a red line. He really will not accept him as prime minister and for the moment that's really keeping him from any real chance of taking that premiership.

NAMDAR: Aneesh, Nuri al Maliki has fallen victim to the sectarian divides that have beset Iraq. Why does Allawi feel with him in the place of as prime minister, he could do better?

RAMAN: Well, he says the whole problem was routed in the parliamentary elections in the September of 2005. It was the last in a trio of elections that Iraqis had. It came too quick, he says. And Iraqis by virtue of the speed reacted by virtue of their sectarian divides, Shia voting for Shia, Sunni voting for Sunni. He says Iraqis now understand, and many of them do, when you speak to them, that a secular government, or at least a modern, more sectarian government is necessary and he's trying to be the voice and the face for the alternative path. But, again, it's a very uphill battle that he faces in terms of the numbers. But at the least he's hoping to stir the pot and try and bring Nuri al Maliki under enough pressure that he either changes his course or someone else within that Shia coalition takes that job.

Link to full transcript: <http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0709/05/ywt.01.html>

Note: Barbour Griffith & Rogers, LLC has filed registration statements under the Foreign Agents Registration Act with regard to its representation and dissemination of information on behalf of the Iraqi National Accord. Additional information is on file with the Foreign Agents Registration Unit of the Department of Justice in Washington DC.

Dr. Ayad Allawi

From: Dr. Ayad Allawi [DrAyadAllawi@allawi-for-iraq.com]
Sent: Thursday, September 06, 2007 6:09 PM
Subject: Jones Commission Report: Factional Tension and Violence in Iraq Fed by Slow Pace of National Reconciliation
Attachments: Jones Commission Report on Iraqi Government.pdf

Please find listed below:

- 1) Report by the Independent Commission on the Security Forces in Iraq ("The Jones Commission Report"), which outlines the deficiencies of the Maliki government in securing national reconciliation and effectively managing key ministries.
- 2) Article by the *Washington Post* on the Jones Commission Report, stating that "the report emphasizes the failure of Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki's government to achieve key political benchmarks, says that violence will not end without political reconciliation".

1) The Report of the Independent Commission on the Security Forces in Iraq Committee on Armed Services, US Senate September 6, 2007

General James L. Jones, Jr., USMC (Ret.)
Chairman, Iraqi Security Forces Independent Assessment Commission

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Overall, the factional tension and violence within Iraq is fed by the slow and disappointing pace of national reconciliation; intensified by the inflow of foreign fighters, terrorists, and weapons; and promoted by neighboring countries, such as Iran and Syria.

Ministry of Interior Assessment. The Ministry of Interior is a ministry in name only. It is widely regarded as being dysfunctional and sectarian, and suffers from ineffective leadership. Such fundamental flaws present a serious obstacle to achieving the levels of readiness, capability, and effectiveness in police and border security forces that are essential for internal security and stability in Iraq.

Border Security Assessment. Iraq's border security forces are generally ineffective and need more equipment, training, and infrastructure before they can play a significant role in securing Iraq's borders. The Department of Border Enforcement suffers from poor support from the Ministry of Interior. Overall border security is undermined by the division of responsibilities between the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Transportation. Corruption and external infiltration of the border security forces are widespread, and the borders are porous.

Overall Capacity Building. To maintain progress in the development of the ISF over the next 12 to 18 months, the national government has to establish a competent and reliable

administration to provide for the full range of support required to sustain the military and police. Doing so includes establishing functional procurement, storage, and asset management systems and providing the proper weapons, vehicles, spare parts, medical supplies, ammunition, communications assets, and other vital equipment.

CONCLUSIONS, KEY FINDINGS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Finding 9: Parallel lines of direct communication to military units have been established under the control of the Prime Minister. He is perceived by many as having created a second, and politically motivated chain of command, effectively communicating orders directly to field commanders. Such a practice bypasses national command lines, which should flow through the Minister of Defense and the Commanding General of Iraqi Armed Forces.

Finding 28: Sectarianism and corruption are pervasive in the MOI [Ministry of Interior] and cripple the ministry's ability to accomplish its mission to provide internal security for Iraqi citizens.

Finding 31: The Ministry of Interior and provincial authorities share responsibility for management and payment of the Iraqi Police Service. Serious deficiencies in these efforts have led to pay and morale problems and have heightened tensions between the central government and the provinces.

Finding 43: The police are central to the long-term establishment of security and stability in Iraq. Today, the Iraqi Police Service is incapable of providing security at a level sufficient to protect Iraqi neighborhoods from insurgents and sectarian violence.

Finding 50: Corruption is a serious problem at many land ports of entry. This fact has not yet been adequately addressed.

Levels of Violence and Their Impact on Iraqi Society

Iraqi society is being convulsed by sectarianism that if not swiftly and significantly curtailed could contribute to a rapid deterioration of Iraq, with "grave humanitarian, political, and security consequences." Iraq's overall security environment is very complex. Elements of terror, ethnic violence, insurgency, meddling by external actors, and criminal activity all combine to define, in varying degrees, the nature of the threats. The Commission assesses that despite all that remain to be done, the single most important event that could immediately and favorably affect Iraq's direction and security is political reconciliation focused on ending sectarian violence and hatred. Sustained progress within the Iraqi Security Forces depends on such a political agreement.

Deny Terrorists Safe Haven

Iraq's central government in Baghdad does not have national reach in terms of security, nor does it have a monopoly on the use of force—a defining characteristic of a functioning nation-state. Militias continue to play a prominent role and are seen by American and Iraqi officials

alike as posing almost as significant a threat to Iraqi stability and security as al Qaeda in Iraq. Despite the heavy concentration of forces brought to the capital as part of Fardh al-Qanoon, the central government does not yet fully control security in Baghdad or its surrounding "ring cities."

End Sectarian Violence

The ability of the Iraqi Security Forces to end sectarian violence in Iraq and contribute to setting the conditions for national reconciliation is limited in the absence of a strong central government and an active political reconciliation process. From a military perspective, to help end sectarian violence, the Iraqi Security Forces should represent the diversity of Iraq's population at the national level and not be a participant – actual or perceived – in sectarian violence.

Concluding Thoughts

At the end of the day, however, the future of Iraq and the prospects for establishing a professional, effective, and loyal military and police service, hinges on the ability of the Iraqi people and the government to begin the process of achieving national reconciliation and to ending sectarian violence. For the time being, all progress seems to flow from this most pressing requirement.

Link to the full Senate testimony: http://armed-services.senate.gov/e_witnesslist.cfm?id=2910

2) Jones Report: Iraqi Security Forces Not Ready

Logistical Self-Sufficiency Is at Least Two Years Away

Washington Post

Wednesday, September 5, 2007

By Karen DeYoung

Iraq's Interior Ministry is "dysfunctional," filled with sectarianism and corruption, according to an independent assessment of the Iraqi security forces to be published tomorrow. The report said that Iraq's national police force, controlled by that ministry, is "operationally ineffective" and should be disbanded and reorganized.

The report, by a congressionally-named commission of retired senior military officers, cites progress in the operation and training of the Iraqi army. But it estimates that "they will not be ready to independently fulfill their security role within the next 12 to 18 months" without a substantial U.S. military presence. Logistical self-sufficiency, which it describes as key to independent Iraqi operations, is at least two years away, the report says.

Iraqi security forces "have the potential to help reduce sectarian violence," the report says. But the report, which emphasizes the failure of Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki's government to achieve key political benchmarks, says that violence will not end without political

reconciliation. In addition to the failings of the Interior Ministry and police, it says that Maliki is perceived as bypassing the Ministry of Defense and the chain of command to create "a second, and politically motivated" command structure in the army.

The Independent Commission on the Security Forces of Iraq, headed by retired Marine Gen. James L. Jones, is the latest of a series of progress reports of the political and military situation in Iraq in advance of the Bush administration's own scorecard to be delivered next week. A report by the Government Accountability Office, released yesterday, said that Iraq had met only three of 18 congressional benchmarks for progress.

The 152-page document, obtained by The Washington Post, agrees with the administration's assessment that the security situation has improved dramatically in Anbar province and cites "signs of encouraging tactical successes in the Baghdad capital region."

It says those "circumstances of the moment" may provide an opportunity for beginning to transition U.S. forces to a "strategic overwatch posture" in early 2008, re-tasking them to concentrate on border defense and infrastructure defense.

Although it was required only to assess the condition of Iraq's security forces, the commission report also cites divergences between perceptions and reality in Iraq, particularly in the image of U.S. forces. The massive U.S. "footprint," it says, conveys the image of "an occupying force" when "what is needed is the opposite impression." It proposes significant consolidation and reduction of U.S. installations and the establishment of a U.S.-Iraqi "Transition Headquarters."

Note: Barbour Griffith & Rogers, LLC has filed registration statements under the Foreign Agents Registration Act with regard to its representation and dissemination of information on behalf of the Iraqi National Accord. Additional information is on file with the Foreign Agents Registration Unit of the Department of Justice in Washington DC.

Dr. Ayad Allawi

From: Dr. Ayad Allawi [DrAyadAllawi@allawi-for-iraq.com]
Sent: Friday, September 07, 2007 6:16 PM
Subject: By The Numbers: August 2004 vs. August 2007
Attachments: August 2004 vs. August 2007.pdf

Please find listed below a comparison of security and economic indices in Iraq between August 2004 -- when Dr. Ayad Allawi was Prime Minister of Iraq -- and August 2007.

By The Numbers: August 2004 vs. August 2007

Daily Attacks by Insurgents

August 2004: 77
August 2007: 120

Attacks in Region Near Mosul

August 2004: 5
August 2007: 8

Iraqi Civilian Deaths

August 2004: 1,500
August 2007: 2,500

Iraqi Civilians Newly Displaced By Violence (in thousands)

August 2004: 25
August 2007: 80

Multiple-Fatality Bombings

August 2004: 13
August 2007: 30

Oil Production (in million barrels/ day)

August 2004: 2.1
August 2007: 1.7

Household Fuel Supply (in percentage of estimated need)

August 2004: 84
August 2007: 43

Electricity Production (average gigawatts)

August 2004: 4.7
August 2007: 4.1

Iraqis Supporting Strong Central Government (percent)

August 2004: 80
August 2007: 55

12/10/2007

Link to original chart:

http://www.nytimes.com/imagepages/2007/09/03/opinion/20070904_IRAQ_GRAPHIC.html

Note: Barbour Griffith & Rogers, LLC has filed registration statements under the Foreign Agents Registration Act with regard to its representation and dissemination of information on behalf of the Iraqi National Accord. Additional information is on file with the Foreign Agents Registration Unit of the Department of Justice in Washington DC.

Dr. Ayad Allawi

From: Dr. Ayad Allawi [DrAyadAllawi@allawi-for-iraq.com]
Sent: Monday, September 10, 2007 6:18 PM
Subject: Dr. Ayad Allawi: "We Are Further Than Ever From National Reconciliation"
Attachments: Interview with Dr. Ayad Allawi -- 09-10.pdf

Please find below today's interview by Dr. Ayad Allawi with *Spiegel* magazine, addressing his views on the Maliki government, the testimony of General David Petraeus and Ambassador Ryan Crocker, and building a secular democracy in Iraq.

Interview with Dr. Ayad Allawi

"We Are Further Than Ever From National Reconciliation"

SPIEGEL (Germany)

September 10, 2007

Former Iraqi Prime Minister Ayad Allawi talks with SPIEGEL about the Bush administration's strategy for Iraq, what the Iraqis themselves have failed to do, and the dangers presented by the country's ethnic and confessional divisions.

SPIEGEL: Mr. Allawi, Gen. David Petraeus, the commander of US forces in Iraq, will present his report to Congress this week. He apparently wants to suggest reducing troop levels that had been increased as part of the "surge" strategy starting next year. What is your assessment of the six-month US military offensive in Iraq?

Allawi: Gen. Petraeus visited me in my house right after it started. I asked him: "What will you do when this offensive is over? Will you go home?" He answered: "That's your responsibility. We are coming to prepare the field for you politicians." It was never the goal of this increase in troops to solve all the security problems for good. The goal was to create the conditions that would enable Iraq's political classes to start down the path of reconciliation. Without that there will never be any security.

SPIEGEL: What have you -- the politicians -- done with this short breathing space?

Allawi: Today, we are further than ever from national reconciliation. The ethnic-confessional cleansings continue, especially in central Iraq and Baghdad. The exodus and expulsions of Iraqis has taken on a dimension not seen since the founding of modern Iraq in the 1920s. De-Baathification has become a settling of scores with political opponents. There is also absolutely no solution in sight for how to deal with former members of the disbanded army. Hundreds of thousands of soldiers sit at home, deprived and disenfranchised, without a salary.

SPIEGEL: On the other hand, the US military can point to some progress, for example, in the Sunni Anbar province, where US President George Bush visited last week, or in Baghdad.

Allawi: That's true. But we have to be frank precisely because the United States has made such

sacrifices and because Petraeus and Ambassador Ryan Crocker have shown goodwill. We now have a number of crises to deal with that go far beyond pure security aspects. It wasn't only the supporters of Saddam's regime that have been neutralized politically. The same goes for Sunnis pushing for reconciliation, for secularists like us, for those that listen to the preacher Muqtada al-Sadr, for members of the Fadhila Party based in southern Iraq -- that is, even for millions of religious Shiites. All of these groups have been disenfranchised politically and some are now attacking each other.

SPIEGEL: You demand that Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki resign. But what would happen then?

Allawi: A new government must be formed that bundles all political forces to ensure a process of national reconciliation. In order to get things started, there must be a general amnesty with exceptions only for terrorists and serious criminals. An Iraqi government can only provide security if the state institutions take away the influence of the various militias and disband them. This would mean for the army alone that up to 40 percent of the current number of troops would need to be replaced by soldiers and officers from the old army and new recruits. Proper tools are needed to ensure security. That means a police force and an army that is loyal to the state -- not to a specific confessional group or a clan.

SPIEGEL: What role would the US military have in this scenario?

Allawi: First of all, they would have to safeguard such a transfer. Then, little by little, the United Nations, the G8 states, the Gulf Cooperation Council and the Organization of the Islamic Conference must begin to take over responsibility for security in Iraq. I've been pushing for such an internationalization for a long time. I've sent letters to the American president, the British prime minister, as well as the leaders of Japan and Germany.

SPIEGEL: How did the Germans respond?

Allawi: We know that Berlin is interested in playing a role in the stabilization of Iraq. During my tenure as prime minister, Germany trained Iraqi security forces and we received German equipment -- Heckler & Koch pistols for the police, paid for by the United Arab Emirates. Germany was also very helpful in expanding NATO's role in Iraq.

SPIEGEL: Very few countries will be willing to send troops to Iraq while others are pulling theirs out. What could they do differently?

Allawi: The involvement of other nations will greatly influence the behavior of our neighbors, for example Iran. It makes a big difference to Tehran's policy on Iraq if it's only facing the United States or if it's also facing Germany, Japan or large Islamic countries.

SPIEGEL: How do you explain that the Bush administration continues to back Maliki despite growing criticism?

Allawi: You'll have to ask President Bush that. Who can dispute that the current government

is weak and deeply troubled? Although I personally have nothing against Nouri al-Maliki, the sectarian strife that has spread across our land will leave lasting damage.

SPIEGEL: Would you like to replace Nouri al-Maliki yourself at the helm of the government?

Allawi: I am not prepared to serve a sectarian regime. If we can achieve a broad, clear mandate for national unity, where it doesn't matter if someone is Kurd or Arab, Sunni or Shiite, then I am ready to take any post.

SPIEGEL: What could you then promise your secular supporters?

Allawi: We must build a state that is in the position to defend democracy. And the institutions of this state must have a place for all Iraqis: in the schools, in the universities, in the business sector. But a new government will first have to rule with state of emergency laws -- laws, mind you, that all groups agree to -- not like the current anti-terror laws that are being used to persecute disfavored parties.

SPIEGEL: People accuse you of having had contact with the Sunni countries neighboring Iraq and of having been motivated by their agendas.

Allawi: I speak regularly with the Turkish leadership -- which is a decisive factor in the region. I also meet with Saudi Arabia's King Abdullah, Egypt's President (Hosni) Mubarak, and with Gulf state leaders. It's all about preserving the regional balance, that is, to offset Iran's growing influence.

SPIEGEL: How is it that you are seen throughout the Middle East as a man working for western intelligence services?

Allawi: I'm not. When Saddam was in power, a few countries helped us. Egypt let us set up a radio station, Turkey allowed us access to Kurdistan. The president of the Iraqi National Congress, Ahmad Chalabi, has admitted to receiving money from the CIA. But the Sunnis, secularists like us, the Kurds -- we were all part of the National Congress. Only one thing is prohibited these days in Iraq: to speak with President Mubarak or the kings of Jordan and Saudi Arabia. Mention the word "Arabism" and you will be accused of being an intelligence agent.

Link: <http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/0,1518,504900,00.html>

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Dr. Ayad Allawi

From: Dr. Ayad Allawi [DrAyadAllawi@allawi-for-iraq.com]
Sent: Friday, September 14, 2007 2:52 PM
Subject: Benchmark Assessment Report v. Ayad Allawi Six Point Plan: Points of Convergence
Attachments: Ayad Allawi Six-Point Plan for Iraq.pdf

Please find below a comparison of the relevant provisions of the Iraq Benchmark Assessment Report, released today by the White House in accordance with Section 1314 of Public Law 110-28, and Dr. Ayad Allawi's Six-Point Plan for Iraq (attached separately).

Benchmark Assessment Report v. Ayad Allawi Six Point Plan: Points of Convergence

(ii) Enacting and implementing legislation on de-Ba'athification reform.

Assessment: The Government of Iraq has made satisfactory progress toward enacting and implementing legislation on de-Ba'athification reform.

- ***Six-Point Plan:***

- **5. Politics: National Reconciliation:**

- End de-baathification, while referring any legitimate offenders to judicial due process.

(iii) Enacting and implementing legislation to ensure the equitable distribution of hydrocarbon resources to the people of Iraq without regard to the sect or ethnicity of recipients, and enacting and implementing legislation to ensure that the energy resources of Iraq benefit Sunni Arabs, Shi'a Arabs, Kurds, and other Iraqi citizens in an equitable manner.

Assessment: The Government of Iraq has not made satisfactory progress toward enacting and implementing legislation to ensure the equitable distribution of hydrocarbon revenue.

- ***Six-Point Plan:***

- **6. Economy: Restoring Services & Establishing a Free-Market Economy:**

- Enact a modern and market-oriented oil and gas law to optimize returns to the Iraqi people.

(vi) Enacting and implementing legislation addressing amnesty.

Assessment: No assessment can be made until the necessary preconditions have been reached for implementing a general amnesty.

- ***Six-Point Plan:***

- **5. Politics: National Reconciliation:**

- Declare general amnesty to all except those who have been engaged in terrorism.

(vii) Enacting and implementing legislation establishing a strong militia disarmament program to ensure that such security forces are accountable only to the central government and loyal to the constitution of Iraq.

Assessment: No assessment can be made until the necessary preconditions have been reached for implementing a strong militia disarmament program.

- ***Six-Point Plan:***

- **2. Security: Ending Terrorism and Sectarian Violence**

- Reorganize Iraqi security forces with 30-40% from existing units, 30-40% from disbanded units, and the balance with new recruits.

(xiii) Reducing the level of sectarian violence in Iraq and eliminating militia control of local security.

Assessment: The Government of Iraq has made satisfactory progress toward reducing sectarian violence. Where ISF and Coalition forces have conducted clear and hold operations, militia control has been significantly reduced. However, satisfactory progress has not been made toward eliminating militia control of local security, in other areas, as evidenced by continued militia influence of certain Baghdad neighborhoods and other areas across Iraq.

- **Six-Point Plan:**

- **2. Security: Ending Terrorism and Sectarian Violence**

- Declare a State of Emergency, with the support and concurrence of the Parliament, for a finite duration of time, perhaps 2-3 years, until security is restored.

(xv) Increasing the number of Iraqi Security Forces units capable of operating independently.

Assessment: Although there is progress in the development and operation of the Iraqi Security Forces, the Government of Iraq has not made satisfactory progress toward increasing the number of Iraqi Security Force units capable of operating independently.

- **Six-Point Plan:**

- **1. US-Iraq Relations**

- Work with the US on a security plan that leads to the withdrawal of most American forces from Iraq over the next 2 years, and gradually and substantially reduces the US combat role between now and then.

(xvi) Ensuring that the rights of minority political parties in the Iraqi legislature are protected.

Assessment: The Government of Iraq has made satisfactory progress toward ensuring that the rights of minority political parties in the Iraqi legislature are protected.

- **Six-Point Plan:**

- **4. The State: Building an Independent, Federal Iraq**

- Stop the sectarian politics of the Maliki Government, which are destroying Iraq.
- Remove through Parliamentary means the current Iraqi Government that has failed to build a “single, independent federal state” (per Article One of the Iraqi Constitution) and has not taken political advantage of the enormous American commitment to the future of Iraq.

Link to the Iraq Benchmark Assessment Report of September 14, 2007:

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2007/09/20070914.html>

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Dr. Ayad Allawi

From: Dr. Ayad Allawi [DrAyadAllawi@allawi-for-iraq.com]
Sent: Friday, October 12, 2007 4:16 PM
Subject: Ayad Allawi's Six-Point Plan for Iraq: National Reconciliation
Attachments: Ayad Allawi's Six-Point Plan -- National Reconciliation.pdf

Please find below (and attached separately) Dr. Ayad Allawi's strategy for achieving national reconciliation in Iraq, which constitutes an integral part of his comprehensive Six-Point Plan for Iraq.

Ayad Allawi's Six-Point Plan: National Reconciliation

Political and social reconciliation remains the foremost priority for a secure and democratic Iraq. Dr. Allawi envisages several crucial steps in order to achieve national reconciliation, such as bringing the Sunni, Christian, Turkmen and other leaders into the Iraqi political process, engaging key Shiite religious leaders, enacting legislation to reverse blanket de-Baathification, declaring general amnesty, and abandoning the sectarian policies of the Maliki government.

Dr. Allawi's Six-Point Plan for Iraq greatly reflects the conclusions and findings of recent independent and US government assessments, such as the Iraq Study Group Report, the Government Accountability Office (GAO) report, the National Intelligence Estimate (NIE), the Report of the Independent Commission on the Security Forces (the Jones Commission Report), and the White House Benchmark Assessment, of the vital importance in achieving a democratic consensus in Iraq.

As Prime Minister of Iraq from 2004-2005, Dr. Allawi consistently called for talks with prominent Sunni leaders in order to facilitate national dialogue and interethnic compromise. As a result, tribal leaders from Anbar, Mosul, and Salahuddin provinces have joined the political process – some as members of the Council of Representatives, including appointments to such posts as the Speaker of the Council, and others in the executive branch of the government.

The current US policy of reaching out to the tribal leaders in Anbar has been consistently advocated by Dr Allawi during tenure as Prime Minister. For instance, Dr. Allawi conducted negotiations with Sunni leaders prior to the landmark January 30, 2005 national elections to the Iraqi National Assembly. As the then-White House spokesman Scott McClellan stated on December 1, 2004: "Prime Minister Allawi is reaching out to all people throughout the political spectrum in Iraq. He is reaching out to Sunni leaders to talk about moving forward on these elections."

The December 2006 Iraq Study Group has argued that "the Iraqi government must send a clear signal to Sunnis that there is a place for them in national life," adding that "the government needs to act now, to give a signal of hope." The Maliki government, however, has not followed

through on this vital commitment. The September 6, 2007, Report of the Independent Commission on the Security Forces of Iraq (the Jones Commission Report) concluded that "Overall, the factional tension and violence within Iraq is fed by the slow and disappointing pace of national reconciliation." The September 14, 2007, White House Benchmark Assessment also noted that "political progress at the national level has still been disappointing."

Dr. Allawi has also remained committed to working with and recognizing the contribution of the Shiite religious leadership in Iraq, such as that of Grand Ayatollah Ali Al-Sistani, in securing a lasting national reconciliation. The Iraq Study Group contends that Sistani remains "the most influential leader in the country: all major Shia leaders have sought his approval or guidance." As Rajiv Chandrasekaran of the *Washington Post* wrote on May 29, 2004: "Although [Allawi] is secular, he reportedly has the support of the country's top Shiite cleric, and he has served as the Governing Council's point man on security issues. He also has welcomed Sunni Muslims and ethnic Kurds into his political organization and promoted reconciliation with former members of Saddam Hussein's Baath Party..."

In his Six-Point Plan, Dr. Allawi reiterates his commitment to the reversal of the policy of blanket de-Baathification, implemented in 2003 by the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA). In order to facilitate dialogue and bring them into the political and social fabric of the new Iraq, he has conducted talks with those members of the Baath party who have not committed crimes. As Dr. Allawi stated in the interview to *The New Yorker* on January 24, 2005: "I ask these former Baathists, what is it you want to achieve—to bring Saddam back, to get the multinational forces out of Iraq? If it's to bring Saddam back to power, forget it—*khalas*—he's finished. He ended like a rat, hiding in a hole in the ground. This is not respectable. Or if you want to bring bin Laden or someone like him to Iraq, we'll fight you room to room. We won't accept this, ever. If you want to get the multinational forces out, then join the elections. Use your *vote* to get them out."

The Iraq Study Group report also echoes Dr. Allawi's commitment regarding the importance of de-Baathification, stating that "Political reconciliation requires the reintegration of Baathists and Arab nationalists into national life, with the leading figures of Saddam Hussein's regime excluded." The September 4, 2007, GAO report noted that "Of particular concern is the lack of progress on de-Baathification legislation that could promote greater Sunni participation in the national government." Passage of De-Baathification laws remains one of the Congressionally-mandated benchmarks for judging progress in Iraq. The White House Benchmarks Assessment has reiterated that "the New Way Forward strategy makes de-Baathification reform an integral part of the US Government's Iraq policy."

Along with de-Baathification, Dr. Allawi's Six-Point Plan calls for the implementation of a general amnesty, except for those who have been engaged in terrorism. The Iraq Study Group has recommended that "Amnesty proposals must be far-reaching. Any successful effort at national reconciliation must involve those in the government finding ways and means to reconcile with former bitter enemies." In August 2004, Prime Minister Allawi has extended such amnesty to those who have committed minor crimes. As CNN reported on August 7, 2004: "Allawi said those who committed crimes such as killing, from street criminals to

alleged terrorist mastermind Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, "will be prosecuted." He said the order had been issued to allow Iraqis to rejoin society and participate in the reconstruction of the country "instead of wasting their lives pointlessly toward a lost cause."

As summed up by the GAO report on September 4, 2007, "The Iraqi government has not fulfilled commitments it first made in June 2006 to advance legislative, security, and economic measures that would promote national reconciliation among Iraq's warring factions." Dr. Allawi's proposed Six-Point Plan aims to implement a number of key measures in order to ensure progress toward national reconciliation as a means to a secure, prosperous, and democratic Iraq. As Dr. Allawi stated in an interview to *Spiegel* magazine on September 10, 2007: "A new government must be formed that bundles all political forces to ensure a process of national reconciliation."

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Dr. Ayad Allawi

From: Dr. Ayad Allawi [DrAyadAllawi@allawi-for-iraq.com]
Sent: Monday, October 22, 2007 7:20 PM
Subject: Ayad Allawi's Six-Point Plan for Iraq: Ending Terrorism and Sectarian Violence
Attachments: Ayad Allawi's Six-Point Plan -- Ending Terrorism and Sectarian Violence.pdf

Please find below (and attached separately) Dr. Ayad Allawi's strategy for ending terrorism and sectarian violence in Iraq, which constitutes an integral part of his comprehensive Six-Point Plan for Iraq.

Ayad Allawi's Six-Point Plan: Ending Terrorism and Sectarian Violence

In order to end terrorism and sectarian violence that has increasingly engulfed Iraq since its liberation from Saddam Hussein, Dr. Allawi has outlined several resolute measures in his Six-Point Plan for Iraq that aim to ensure stability and eradicate terror groups operating in the country. These measures include declaring a finite State of Emergency until security is restored, with the support and concurrence of the Iraqi Parliament; reorganizing the Iraqi security forces; and establishing a ministerial-level security committee, in close liaison with the Multi-National Force in Iraq and the UN, as part of a long-term effort to disband – and whenever possible, integrate – militias into a nonsectarian security command structure. Dr. Allawi strongly believes that this course of action will prevent Iraq becoming a regional crisis and deter Al-Qaeda in utilizing Iraq as a base of operations for exporting terror to Iraq and around the world.

Dr. Allawi argues that national reconciliation in Iraq cannot be achieved without a drastic improvement in security and that it is primarily the job of the Iraqi politicians to enforce this process. When General David Petraeus and Ambassador Ryan Crocker presented their reports to the US Congress over a month ago, they have outlined the modest successes of the "surge" strategy and the "bottom-up" approach. However, as Dr. Allawi noted in his September 10, 2007 interview to *Spiegel* magazine: "It was never the goal of this increase in troops to solve all the security problems for good. The goal was to create the conditions that would enable Iraq's political classes to start down the path of reconciliation."

As Prime Minister of Iraq from 2004-2005, Dr. Allawi has already implemented a number of similar measures to combat sectarian violence and terrorism. As one of his first steps as Prime Minister of Iraq, on July 6, 2004, Dr. Allawi signed the "Law for National Safety", granting the Iraqi government a comprehensive mandate to implement a country-wide State of Emergency for 60-days, in order to target violence and extremism. In an interview to the *New York Times* on July 7, 2004, Dr. Allawi noted: "We completed signing the law after really elaborate deliberations and discussions to ensure checks and balances and to ensure the adherence to the rule of law and to, the respect of human rights issues."

On November 7, 2004, prior to the Fallujah Offensive and the landmark elections to the Transitional National Assembly, Dr. Allawi successfully implemented the new security

legislation and declared a national State of Emergency. As a result of his principled approach, more than 8.5 million Iraqis – over 58 percent of the eligible electorate – participated in the first genuinely free and fair election in Iraq's history on January 30, 2005. As noted by a US State Department report in April 2005: ""Prime Minister Allawi, the Iraqi Interim Government (IIG), and the people of Iraq demonstrated their combined resolve, remarkable unity of purpose, and clear commitment to further Iraq's transition to democracy despite intimidation."

Due to the failure of the current leadership in Iraq to ensure stability, Dr. Allawi strongly believes that a finite State of Emergency in Iraq is necessary for a renewed and vigorous commitment to improving security for the Iraqi people.

Dr. Allawi's Six-Point Plan also envisages a reorganization of the Iraqi Security Forces, in order for it to become a more effective, unified, and nonsectarian mechanism for dealing with violence and terrorism. As independent and US government reports have outlined, the current strategy pursued by the Maliki government has not been successful in this regard. The September 6, 2007 Report of the Independent Commission on the Security Forces in Iraq (the Jones Commission Report) notes that "Iraq's central government in Baghdad does not have national reach in terms of security, nor does it have a monopoly on the use of force – a defining characteristic of a functioning nation-state." The September 14, 2007 White House Benchmark Assessment Report has reiterated that "Although there is progress in the development and operation of the Iraqi Security Forces, the Government of Iraq has not made satisfactory progress toward increasing the number of Iraqi Security Force units capable of operating independently."

In order to rectify this perilous state of affairs, Dr. Allawi proposes a comprehensive reorganization of the Iraqi security forces, with 30-40% from existing units, 30-40% from disbanded units, and the balancing the rest with new recruits. As Dr. Allawi noted to *Spiegel*: "An Iraqi government can only provide security if the state institutions take away the influence of the various militias and disband them. This would mean for the army alone that up to 40 percent of the current number of troops would need to be replaced by soldiers and officers from the old army and new recruits. Proper tools are needed to ensure security. That means a police force and an army that is loyal to the state -- not to a specific confessional group or a clan."

Dr. Allawi has consistently called for the international community to play a more active role in safeguarding the efforts to ensure security and stability in Iraq. On November 5, 2004, in a meeting with European Union leaders, Prime Minister Allawi announced: "From this podium, I call on the countries which took a spectator role with regard to the Iraqi issue to cooperate with us to build a better Iraq and a better future. Iraq is determined to return to the international community, and it is also determined to make the international community return to it." As part his Six-Point Plan for Iraq, Dr. Allawi similarly argues in favor of establishing a ministerial-level security committee, in close liaison with the Multi-National Force in Iraq and the UN, and also urges the G8 states, the Gulf Cooperation Council, and the Organization of the Islamic Conference to begin taking over responsibility for security in Iraq.

As stated in the August 23, 2007 US National Intelligence Estimate: "Broadly accepted political

compromises required for sustained security, long-term political progress, and economic development are unlikely to emerge unless there is a fundamental shift in the factors driving Iraqi political and security developments.” Dr. Allawi’s Six-Point Plan for Iraq offers a comprehensive security plan which will ensure that sectarian violence and international terrorism are addressed in a determined and principled manner.

Note: Barbour Griffith & Rogers, LLC has filed registration statements under the Foreign Agents Registration Act with regard to its representation and dissemination of information on behalf of the Iraqi National Accord. Additional information is on file with the Foreign Agents Registration Unit of the Department of Justice in Washington DC.

Dr. Ayad Allawi

From: Dr. Ayad Allawi [DrAyadAllawi@allawi-for-iraq.com]
Sent: Thursday, October 25, 2007 5:36 PM
Subject: Iraq government has two months, spokesman says
Attachments: Iraq government has two months. spokesman says.pdf

Please find below (and attached separately) an assessment by the Iraqi Government Spokesman, Ali al-Dabbagh, regarding the fate of the Maliki government.

Iraq gov't has two months, spokesman says

United Press International

Ben Lando, UPI Energy Editor

October 24, 2007

WASHINGTON -- Iraq's government has two months before facing a major crisis as it struggles to pass an oil law and other legislation, the top spokesman said.

Ali al-Dabbagh, speaking this week at the U.S. Institute of Peace, said the Turkish crisis, Iranian influence, and militia and insurgent activity are the major focus of the Iraq struggle.

But the fragile coalition government led by Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki has been unable to make progress on other issues detailed in the so-called benchmarks set out by the Bush administration.

Included in that is a law easing restrictions on lower-level members of Saddam Hussein's Baath Party re-entering government, setting up local elections and approving a law governing Iraq's oil resources.

"I don't deny we have a problem... a political problem," Dabbagh responded to a dual question about the lack of progress on the oil law and other benchmarks and the fact there is little political cohesion in the government. He called it the "responsibility of all the parties which participate in the government" to reach a deal on reform.

"This reform, unless it happens within the coming two months, I think the situation will be fragile. We might face a problem because the situation cannot continue with what we have right now."

On the oil law, he said there are a number of technical points to be ironed out, but there's a somewhat limited agreement on a February version of the draft law.

"There's an amendment and there's editing in the draft, and this makes the Kurds object," he said regarding the back-and-forth over the law's wording. "Finally they agreed to go back to that draft."

The Kurds maintain there is no deal yet because the February version was incomplete.

Dabbagh blamed the Iraqi Accord Front, or Tawafuq, the large Sunni bloc in Parliament, for using the law in its political dispute against Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki's government.

"Not because they are refusing this oil law but because they have a problem with the prime minister and they want to block this oil law," he said. "They know very well how important is this oil law for Iraq and is a sort of putting and applying pressure on the prime minister and on the government." Dabbagh added the government is looking to other Iraqi Sunnis to take Tawafuq's place.

This article can also be found at:

http://www.upi.com/International_Security/Energy/Briefing/2007/10/24/iraq_govt_has_two_months_spokesman_says_/8007/

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12/10/2007

Dr. Ayad Allawi

From: Dr. Ayad Allawi [DrAyadAllawi@allawi-for-iraq.com]
Sent: Friday, October 26, 2007 10:32 AM
Subject: Former Iraqi Prime Minister Dr Ayad Allawi to appear on the Doha Debates
Attachments: Former Iraqi Prime Minister Ayad Allawi to Appear on the Doha Debates.pdf

Former Iraqi Prime Minister Dr Ayad Allawi to appear on the Doha Debates

DOHA, QATAR, October 24th 2007: As the violence and political turmoil escalate in Iraq, the Doha Debates will be staging a special event with the country's first post-Saddam prime minister Dr Ayad Allawi.

The session will be recorded on October 31st and aired on BBC World on the 3rd and 4th November 2007.

Dr Allawi held office from June 2004 to April 2005, strongly advocating a non-sectarian approach to politics in Iraq. A former doctor and businessman, he became politically active in his youth, later surviving an assassination attempt that left him bed-ridden for a year.

He will participate in a one-on-one interview with ex-BBC HARDtalk presenter and Chairman of the Doha Debates, Tim Sebastian. This will be followed by questions from the audience.

The Doha Debates Specials were introduced in 2005 to mark the 10th anniversary of the Qatar Foundation. They underline the importance to the Foundation of providing a forum for free speech and give students an opportunity to question important figures about key world issues.

On accepting his invitation, Dr Allawi remarked:

"The Doha Debates is an established free speech platform. Participating in it is promoting an understanding of current issues to the audience and its youth participants to enable them to become better leaders of the future".

Chairman Tim Sebastian commented:

"Ayad Allawi was the most powerful domestic politician to try to shape the new Iraq. To many he remains a controversial figure - an Arab strongman, said by some to be ruthless in the face of opposition. Why did it go so wrong in those early days after the fall of Saddam? How did he deal with Washington? What are the prospects now? Just some of the insights I would hope to hear from one of Iraq's most influential power brokers."

For further information, please contact Bell Pottinger Communications:

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EDITOR'S NOTES:

About Dr Ayad Allawi:

Dr Allawi served on Iraq's Governing Council and occupied the position of Minister of Defence before being elected unanimously by the Governing Council to become Iraq's first post-Saddam Prime Minister. He currently heads the Iraqi National List in the Iraqi Council of Representatives (parliament) which occupies 23 seats.

A member of the Ba'ath Party until 1975, he was elected as head of the Iraqi National Accord in 1991 – the organization he established in secret in 1974 and which went public in 1990. He was the victim of an assassination attempt in England in 1978.

About the Doha Debates

The Doha Debates is a groundbreaking forum for free speech in the Arab world. Chaired by Tim Sebastian, the internationally renowned award winning broadcaster, the series has been broadcast on BBC World, which reaches nearly 300 million people in more than 200 countries, since January 2005.

The Doha Debates are hosted and funded by the Qatar Foundation for Education, Science and Community Development. The Foundation is a private, chartered, non-profit organization committed to the belief that a nation's true wealth is in the potential of its people. Chaired by Her Highness Sheikha Mozah bint Nasser al Missned, the wife of the Emir, it seeks to develop that potential through a network of centres devoted to education, public health and research.

About the Doha Debates Specials:

The Doha Debates, a project of Qatar Foundation, have organized a series of special events with leading political figures, policymakers and those in a position to influence and inspire others that explore themes around 'the demands of leadership'. Known as Doha Debate Specials. Former US President Bill Clinton was the first Doha Debate Special guest in November 2005.

www.thedoha.debates.com

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Dr. Ayad Allawi

From: Dr. Ayad Allawi [DrAyadAllawi@allawi-for-iraq.com]

Sent: Thursday, November 01, 2007 7:57 PM

Subject: GAO Report on Iraqi Government

Attacks in Iraq Continue to Decline

Positive News in GAO's Report Is Tempered by Criticism of U.S. Strategy

Washington Post

Wednesday, October 31, 2007; A14

By Ann Scott Tyson

Attacks by insurgents and other fighters in Iraq against U.S. troops, Iraqi forces and civilians dropped sharply in September to their lowest level since early 2006, continuing a decline in violence since June, according to a new Government Accountability Office report released yesterday.

But progress on political goals and reconstruction has been stalled by weaknesses in U.S. strategy and the ineffectiveness of the Shiite-dominated government in Baghdad, the GAO report found.

The report was particularly critical of what it called "the lack of strategic plans" to guide U.S. and Iraqi efforts to rebuild and stabilize the country. Recent U.S. attempts to build the capacity of Iraq's central ministries have been "plagued by unclear goals and objectives," said the report, released yesterday before a panel of the House Appropriations Committee.

The GAO report provides the first public monthly update on "enemy-initiated attacks" and shows that the overall number of attacks has declined from about 5,300 in June to about 3,000 in September. Much of the decline occurred in attacks on U.S. military and other coalition forces, the targets of most of the assaults. The reduction in attacks against Iraqi forces and civilians was smaller, it showed.

The number of enemy attacks on civilians, Iraqi Security Forces and coalition troops increased dramatically after the February 2006 bombing of the Golden Mosque in Samarra and continued rising through June 2007.

To help quell the violence, the United States deployed about 30,000 additional troops to Iraq this spring, bringing the total number of U.S. military personnel to about 164,700 as of September.

The GAO noted that, according to the Defense Intelligence Agency, military reporting on attacks does not account for all the violence in Iraq. It said the military "may underreport incidents of Shi'a militias fighting each other and attacks against Iraqi security forces in southern Iraq," where there are few coalition forces and where the U.S. military has reported escalating violence in recent months.

Previously, the Pentagon released only quarterly violence statistics, but it has begun providing monthly updates at the request of the GAO.

Despite gains in security, the report said the Iraqi government has so far met only one of eight legislative benchmarks aimed at promoting national reconciliation -- protecting the rights of minority parties in the Iraqi legislature. It partially met another benchmark by enacting legislation on the formation of regions, but that law will not be implemented until April 2008, the report said.

Since 2003, it said, Congress has allocated nearly \$400 billion for U.S. efforts in Iraq, with about \$40

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billion supporting reconstruction and stability, it said. But Iraq's government lacks the capacity to spend the funds, and as of mid-July its ministries had spent only 24 percent of their \$10 billion budget for capital projects and reconstruction. "Ministries within the Iraqi government continued to be controlled by sectarian factions and are used to maintain power and provide patronage," the GAO said.

Although the Bush administration has provided \$300 million from fiscal 2005 to 2007 to strengthen Iraqi ministries, and has requested \$255 million more for fiscal 2008, such efforts have been hampered by the lack of a U.S. strategy, Iraqi personnel shortages, militia infiltration of ministries and violence that causes absenteeism.

"Are we effectively helping to build the capabilities of corrupt ministries?" Joseph A. Christoff, director of international affairs and trade for the GAO and author of the report, asked the House panel.

The report is based on interviews with officials from several U.S. agencies, including the U.S.-led military command in Iraq, the Pentagon and the State Department, as well as the Iraqi government and international groups.

This article can also be found at: http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/10/30/AR2007103001276.html?nav=rss_world

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Dr. Ayad Allawi

From: Dr. Ayad Allawi [DrAyadAllawi@allawi-for-iraq.com]
Sent: Friday, November 02, 2007 4:53 PM
Subject: How Iraq's Elections Set Back Democracy by Ayad Allawi
Attachments: How Iraq's Elections Set Back Democracy by Ayad Allawi.pdf

How Iraq's Elections Set Back Democracy*The New York Times*

November 2, 2007

By AYAD ALLAWI

Baghdad

IN the six weeks since Gen. David Petraeus and Ambassador Ryan Crocker delivered their report to Congress on the situation in Iraq, there has been much criticism over the lack of progress made by the Baghdad government toward national reconciliation. Unfortunately, neither Washington nor the government of Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki seems to understand that reconciliation between Iraq's ethnic and religious groups will begin only when we change the flawed electoral system that was created after the fall of Saddam Hussein.

The paralysis that has afflicted the government in Baghdad, the sectarian disputes across the country and the failure to move toward reconciliation were all predictable outcomes of the senseless rush to hold national elections and put the Constitution in place. At the time, leaders from all major parties produced a memorandum calling for a delay of the elections, which I presented to Ghazi al-Yawer, then the interim president of Iraq.

Yet due largely to political pressure from the international community, the elections went ahead in January 2005, under a misguided "closed party list" system. Rather than choosing a specific candidate, voters across the country chose from among rival lists of candidates backed and organized by political parties. This system was entirely unsuitable given the security situation, the lack of accurate census figures, heavy intimidation from ethnic and religious militias, gross interventions by Iran, dismantled state institutions, and the use of religious symbols by parties to influence voters.

Accordingly, the vast majority of the electorate based their choices on sectarian and ethnic affiliations, not on genuine political platforms. Because many electoral lists weren't made public until just before the voting, the competing candidates were simply unknown to ordinary Iraqis. This gave rise to our sectarian Parliament, controlled by party leaders rather than by the genuine representatives of the people. They have assembled a government unaccountable and unanswerable to its people.

How to fix this mess and bring Iraqis together as a true nation? We must begin with a fundamental re-examination of the electoral laws and the Constitution. This is not simply my opinion — it is shared by many of my colleagues in the Parliament's Council of Representatives.

I propose that a new electoral law be devised to move Iraq toward a completely district-based electoral system, like the American Congress, or a "mixed party list" system like that in Germany, in which some representatives are directly elected and other seats are allotted based on the parties' overall showing. In either case, the candidates must be announced well in advance of the election, and they must be chosen to represent the people in their locality.

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Furthermore, a new law should ban the use of religious symbols and rhetoric by candidates and parties — these have no place in democratic elections. In order to prevent interference from militias and to ensure transparency, the United Nations must supervise all these elections district by district. And these reforms should be supplemented by other preconditions of national reconciliation, like general amnesty to all those who have not engaged in terrorism.

The next elections in Iraq are not scheduled to take place until late 2009 (unless the current government is removed by parliamentary means or a new general election is held at the request of a majority of the body). Whatever the fate of the Maliki government, the Council of Representatives must act fast to repeal the regulatory framework of the elections law and propose a new system to the independent electoral commission of Iraq that will ensure all Iraqis are granted an equal voice in their government.

This restructuring of the electoral process will be the beginning of the end of the sectarianism that now dominates Iraqi politics and our dysfunctional government. National reconciliation should be the most significant milestone set by the Bush administration, since this “benchmark” is far more important than the 17 others put forward by Congress this year.

Building democracy in Iraq will be a long-term process, established through the rule of law, a stable security environment, functioning state institutions and an emerging civil society. Success can be achieved if we act soon to bring about the fundamental reforms needed to provide for an Iraqi democracy with a parliament and government that are receptive to people’s needs. Only then can we build a country that will finally allow us to enjoy the freedom so many have paid for with their lives.

The alternative is continuing down the road we are headed, which leads directly to the disintegration of Iraq.

Ayad Allawi, the prime minister of Iraq from 2004 to 2005, heads the Iraqi National Accord Party.

This op-ed can also be found at: <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/11/02/opinion/02allawi.html?ref=opinion>

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Dr. Ayad Allawi

From: Dr. Ayad Allawi [DrAyadAllawi@allawi-for-iraq.com]

Sent: Thursday, November 15, 2007 4:22 PM

Subject: Iraqis Wasting An Opportunity, U.S. Officers Say

Iraqis Wasting An Opportunity, U.S. Officers Say

With Attacks Ebbing, Government Is Urged to Reach Out to Opponents

The Washington Post

By Thomas E. Ricks

Thursday, November 15, 2007; A01

CAMP LIBERTY, Iraq -- Senior military commanders here now portray the intransigence of Iraq's Shiite-dominated government as the key threat facing the U.S. effort in Iraq, rather than al-Qaeda terrorists, Sunni insurgents or Iranian-backed militias.

In more than a dozen interviews, U.S. military officials expressed growing concern over the Iraqi government's failure to capitalize on sharp declines in attacks against U.S. troops and Iraqi civilians. A window of opportunity has opened for the government to reach out to its former foes, said Army Lt. Gen. Raymond T. Odierno, the commander of day-to-day U.S. military operations in Iraq, but "it's unclear how long that window is going to be open."

The lack of political progress calls into question the core rationale behind the troop buildup President Bush announced in January, which was premised on the notion that improved security would create space for Iraqis to arrive at new power-sharing arrangements. And what if there is no such breakthrough by next summer? "If that doesn't happen," Odierno said, "we're going to have to review our strategy."

Brig. Gen. John F. Campbell, deputy commanding general of the 1st Cavalry Division, complained last week that Iraqi politicians appear out of touch with everyday citizens. "The ministers, they don't get out," he said. "They don't know what the hell is going on on the ground." Campbell noted approvingly that Lt. Gen. Aboud Qanbar, the top Iraqi commander in the Baghdad security offensive, lately has begun escorting cabinet officials involved in health, housing, oil and other issues out of the Green Zone to show them, as Campbell put it, "Hey, I got the security, bring in the [expletive] essential services."

Indeed, some U.S. Army officers now talk more sympathetically about former insurgents than they do about their ostensible allies in the Shiite-led central government. "It is painful, very painful," dealing with the obstructionism of Iraqi officials, said Army Lt. Col. Mark Fetter. As for the Sunni fighters who for years bombed and shot U.S. soldiers and now want to join the police, Fetter shrugged. "They have got to eat," he said over lunch in the 1st Cavalry Division's mess hall here. "There are so many we've detained and interrogated, they did what they did for money."

The best promise for breaking the deadlock would be holding provincial elections, officers said -- though they recognize that elections could turn bloody and turbulent, undercutting the fragile stability they now see developing in Iraq.

"The tipping point that I've been looking for as an intel officer, we are there," said one Army officer here who spoke on the condition of anonymity because of the sensitivity of his position. "The GOI [government of Iraq] and ISF [Iraqi security forces] are at the point where they can make it or break it."

The latest news of declining violence comes as the U.S. troop contingent in Iraq has reached an all-time

high. This week, the U.S. troop number will hit 175,000 -- the largest presence so far in the 4 1/2 -year war -- as units that are rotating in and out overlap briefly. But those numbers are scheduled to come down rapidly over the next several months, which will place an increasing burden on Iraqi security forces and an Iraqi government that has yet to demonstrate it is up to the challenge, senior military officials said.

Indeed, after years of seizing on every positive development and complaining that the good news wasn't being adequately conveyed, American military officials now warn against excessive optimism. "It's never as bad as it was, and it's not as good as it's being reported now," said Army Maj. Gen. Michael Barbero, chief of strategic operations for U.S. forces in Iraq.

On the diplomatic side of the Iraq equation, U.S. officials said they realize time is short. "We've got six months because the military is leaving," said one official. But this official and others expressed irritation with the military's negativity toward the Iraqi government -- which they interpret as blaming the State Department for not speeding reconciliation. "That's their out," the official said of the military. "It's convenient, and I know plenty of them have been helping that story around."

Diplomatic officials, none of whom were authorized to speak on the record, insisted that progress is being made, even if it lags behind military successes. They highlighted two key elements needed for political reconciliation in Iraq, one domestic and one external. Internally, sectarian politicians remain deadlocked on a range of issues. Shiite political groups are holding back as they vie for national power and control over resources, while the majority Shiite population fears that the Sunnis hope to recapture the dominance they held under Saddam Hussein.

In recent weeks, U.S. Ambassador Ryan C. Crocker has focused on external forces, hoping to persuade neighboring Sunni Arab governments to increase their official presence in Iraq -- no Arab government currently has an embassy in Baghdad -- to boost the confidence of Iraqi Sunnis.

Late last month, Crocker traveled to virtually every nearby Arab country except Syria and Saudi Arabia. His message, one official said, was "Look, you have got to get behind this because you've got to do everything you can to give all sides confidence."

The U.S. military approach in Iraq this year has focused on striking deals with Sunni insurgents, under which they stop fighting the Americans and instead protect their own neighborhoods. So far about 70,000 such volunteers have been enrolled -- a trend that makes the Shiite-led central government nervous, especially as the movement gets closer to Baghdad.

Indeed, all the U.S. military officials interviewed said their most pressing concern is that Sunnis will sour if the Iraqi government doesn't begin to reciprocate their peace overtures. "The Sunnis have shown great patience," said Campbell. "You don't want the Sunnis that are working with you . . . to go back to the dark side."

The Army officer who requested anonymity said that if the Iraqi government doesn't reach out, then for former Sunni insurgents "it's game on -- they're back to attacking again."

The year-long progress in fighting al-Qaeda in Iraq could carry a downside. Maj. Mark Brady, who works on reconciliation issues, noted that a Sunni leader told him: "As soon as we finish with al-Qaeda, we start with the Shiite extremists." Talk like that is sharply discouraged, Brady noted as he walked across the dusty ground of Camp Liberty, on the western fringes of Baghdad.

But not all agreed that the Sunnis would take up arms. "I don't think going back to violence is in the

cards," said Barbero. Rather, he predicted that if they give up on reaching an accommodation, they will resort to new political actions. One possibility mentioned by other officials is a symbolic Sunni move to secede from Iraq.

Also, some outside experts contend that U.S. officials still don't grasp how their empowerment of militias under the bottom-up model of reconciliation is helping tear apart Iraq. Marc Lynch, a George Washington University expert on the Middle East, argued recently on his blog, Abu Aardvark, that partly because of U.S. political tactics in Iraq, the country is drifting "towards a warlord state, along a Basra model, with power devolved to local militias, gangs, tribes, and power-brokers, with a purely nominal central state."

Officials identified other potential problems flowing from reductions in violence. Military planners already worry that if security continues to improve, many of the 2 million Iraqis who fled the country will return. Those who left are overwhelmingly Sunni, and many of their old houses are occupied by Shiites. How would the Shiite-dominated Iraqi army and police handle the likely friction? "Displaced people is a major flashpoint" to worry about in 2008, said Fetter.

The answer to many of Iraq's problems, several military officials said, would be to hold provincial elections, which they said would inject new blood into Iraq's political life and also better link the Baghdad government to the people. The question under debate is whether to hold them sooner, while the U.S. military still has available its five "surge" brigades, or hold them later and let Iraqis enjoy their growing sense of safety -- even though a smaller U.S. military would have less flexibility. "Some areas, you need them right now, to get people into the government," said Campbell. "But the other side of me says, let it settle in, let security develop, let people see some services." Later rather than sooner is especially appealing because the election campaigns are expected to turn violent.

But the longer provincial balloting is put off, the more likely the current political stalemate will continue. Also, if elections are postponed until, say, the fall of next year, they will be held on the eve of a U.S. presidential vote in which the Iraq war promises to be a major issue, military planners here note.

So, how to force political change in Iraq without destabilizing the country further? "I pity the guy who has to reconcile that tension," said Lt. Col. Douglas Ollivant, the chief of planning for U.S. military operations in Baghdad, whose tour of duty ends next month.

Staff writer Karen DeYoung in Washington contributed to this report.

This article can also be found at: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/11/14/AR2007111402524.html?wpisrc=newsletter>

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Dr. Ayad Allawi

From: Dr. Ayad Allawi [DrAyadAllawi@allawi-for-iraq.com]
Sent: Monday, November 26, 2007 4:55 PM
Subject: Interview with Dr. Ayad Allawi -- CNN Late Edition, November 25, 2007
Attachments: Interview With Ayad Allawi 11-25-07.pdf

Interview With Ayad Allawi

CNN Late Edition With Wolf Blitzer
Aired November 25, 2007 - 11:00 ET

BLITZER: Welcome back to "Late Edition." I'm Wolf Blitzer in Washington. For a change, there's been some good news coming out of Iraq in recent weeks.

Violent attacks against U.S. troops and Iraqi civilians is down to levels not seen since February of 2006. But there's deep concern that the Iraqi prime minister Nouri al-Maliki's government is either unable or unwilling to use the positive trends on the military front to make any serious political progress.

Just a short while ago, I spoke with Iraq's former prime minister Ayad Allawi. He joined me from Amman, Jordan.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

BLITZER: Prime Minister Allawi, thanks very much for joining us. Welcome back to "Late Edition."

Let's talk a little bit about what's happening in Iraq right now, and I'll put some numbers up on the screen. In terms of Iraqi civilian deaths, it looks like the trend is positive. Back in June, more than 1,100 civilians were killed. In October, it went down to 565; in November, so far, 324, a dramatic decrease.

As far as U.S. military troop casualties, deaths back in June, it was over 100; in October, it went down to 38; in November so far, 31.

It looks like these trends are positive. Is the so-called military surge now working? AYAD ALLAWI, FORMER PRIME MINISTER OF IRAQ: Well, indeed, these figures do indicate a positive trend, but it's still early to judge what is going to happen. We need to wait and see, in the coming months and weeks ahead, and see whether the trend is going to continue to stay down or will increase.

We hope, definitely, the trend will improve, the positiveness will improve, will continue. But I think we're still lacking on the political side.

(CROSSTALK)

BLITZER: I want to talk about that, but I also want to play for you what President Bush said about this current situation, as it's unfolding in Iraq right now. Listen to President Bush.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

BUSH: Since the surge of operations began in June, the number of IED attacks per week has declined by half. U.S. military deaths have fallen to their lowest level in 19 months. Iraqi forces have now assumed

responsibility for security in eight of Iraq's 18 provinces. Across this country, brave Iraqis are increasingly taking more responsibility for their own security and safety.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: Is that right, that the Iraqis themselves are beginning to take charge throughout the country, leaving less of a responsibility to U.S. military forces?

ALLAWI: I think still the Iraqi forces are not ready yet to take the full responsibility. I think especially the police forces are still definitely not ready yet. I think there is an improvement in the army, but we want to observe the trends of how militias are being dealt with and how militias will be purged in the various security institutions. These are items still waiting to be observed, and we hope that ultimately, the Iraqi forces will be able, but I can't see this happening yet.

BLITZER: You've suggested that while there might be progress on the military front, there's dramatic lack of progress on the political front, that the government of Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki is not stepping up and doing what it should be doing. The last time we spoke, you had lost almost all confidence in Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki. Where do you stand on that point now?

ALLAWI: Well, absolutely, Wolf, the aspect of political solutions in Iraq and reconciliation is still far away. We haven't achieved this. We are not even closer to achieving this than we were a few months ago.

And in fact, we are witnessing more and more problems within the partners in the political process. We also, I would like to mention, that the so-called awakening (inaudible), in the various provinces and various parts of Iraq is not part and parcel of the government. It's independent groups in various provinces who are cooperating with the American forces and with the multinational forces, and that's why we see a reverse pattern in Anbar and Mosul and Diyala and Kut. And maybe we'll see this in Karbala.

BLITZER: So what you're...

ALLAWI: But this does not...

BLITZER: What you're suggesting -- excuse me for interrupting, Prime Minister -- what you're suggesting is that the progress in the al Anbar and some of the other provinces is not because of the Iraqi government's policies, but despite the Iraqi government's policies, is that right?

ALLAWI: Indeed. This was an agreement between the people of Anbar, between the various factions and tribes in Anbar and between the multinational forces, the American forces. The government, in fact, of Baghdad have declared some time ago that they are against the so-called awakening in Anbar. And I think unless we integrate what is happening in Anbar into the system, into the government, into the political process, then we'll end up in having various militias running the various provinces throughout the country, unfortunately. That's why we need to see an integration of this process.

I explained this to Ryan Crocker, the U.S. ambassador to Baghdad a few weeks in Baghdad over dinner at my house, and said that unless these people are integrated, the government would remain outside this process and the result will be in producing more militias and warlords.

BLITZER: The spokesman for Nouri al-Maliki, the prime minister, Ali Al-Dabbagh, he said this this past week. He said, "Certainly, we still have more to do. But no one can deny that we have passed the

difficult stage in Baghdad, that stage that we had all feared of sliding to a civil war."

Is he right that fear of a civil war has now passed, that Iraq is beyond that?

ALLAWI: I don't think so at all, Wolf. I think it's still very early days. We know that a third of the population of Baghdad have left Baghdad. If not more than a third.

We know that cement blocks are separating various districts in Baghdad. We know that there is a very strong presence of the multinational forces in Baghdad. God knows what will happen once these forces will withdraw, when the drawdown starts.

That's why I think these are early days, very early days. And I think this is really to avoid addressing the political issues and addressing the reconciliation and taking courageous steps in favor of reconciliation in the country.

BLITZER: Here is what Jalal Talabani, the president of Iraq, told me when I interviewed him recently about the prime minister, Nouri al-Maliki. Listen to this. (BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

JALAL TALABANI, PRESIDENT OF IRAQ: I don't agree with my friend, Dr. Ayad Allawi. I think Maliki is now, in this moment, the best man to be prime minister of Iraq. He is a clean man. Corruption have been done before. He is seizing the power, and there are corruptions, it's true. But that was in the government before him.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

BLITZER: All right. Do you want to respond to what Jalal Talabani says, that he has confidence in Nouri al-Maliki. Yes, there was corruption, but that corruption, he says, began before Nouri al-Maliki became prime minister.

ALLAWI: Well, the corruption is not the only issue in Iraq. It is not Maliki himself, it's the system, the current system in Iraq and the political process.

We see an unbalanced political process. We see that there are still significant portion of the population is outside this political process. We still see the millions of Iraqis displaced both inside Iraq and outside Iraq. I think the whole political process needs to be addressed. I think the issue of reconciliation is a must and it's very important if we want Iraq to recover from its current problems.

Corruption would fall in one of the corners, definitely, to be addressed in the near future but I think we shouldn't mask the reality, the reality is still harsh. We are still far away from reconciliation. End the killings in Iraq and the violence and the various abrupt confrontations in Diwaniyah and Basra and Karbala and elsewhere.

I think we are still in the early days and I believe very strongly that we are still a fair bit away from reconciliation, Wolf.

BLITZER: We're almost out of time, Dr. Allawi, but would you like to be the leader of Iraq, the prime minister down the road?

ALLAWI: Well, I'd like to see Iraqi stabilize itself. I would like to see definitely Iraq play a significant role, positive role on the world stage. I would like to see Iraq as part of a healthy Middle East, with -- performing its duties and securing the people of the Middle East. This is the most important thing that I

would like to see.

I would like to see a non-sectarian government. I would like to see militias end and finish. I would like to see a modern, democratic, federal state in Iraq. This is what I am looking forward.

BLITZER: So does that mean that you'd like...

ALLAWI: Being the prime minister or not is...

BLITZER: Would you like to be the prime minister again in order to try to achieve those goals?

ALLAWI: Well, we have to achieve it, whether I'm the prime minister or I'm not the prime minister. these are the objectives that the Iraqis need to achieve, and this is what we have to fulfill in Iraq. Otherwise, the problem will reappear again, once the drawdown will start.

BLITZER: Ayad Allawi is the former prime minister, the interim prime minister of Iraq. Prime Minister, thanks very much for joining us.

ALLAWI: Thank you, Wolf. Thank you.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

This interview can also be found at: <http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0711/25/le.01.html>

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Date of Contact	U.S. Govt. Official Contacted	Manner in Which Contact Was Made	Subject Matter
June 21	Puneet Talwar, Senate Foreign Relations Committee	Meeting	US-KRG-Turkey Relations
June 21	Tom Hawkins, Office of Senator Mitch McConnell (R-KY)	Meeting	US-KRG Relations
June 26	Ken Myers III, Senate Foreign Relations Committee	Phone Call	US-KRG-Turkey Relations
July 14	Patrick Garvey, Senate Foreign Relations Committee	E-mail	US-KRG-Iraq Relations
July 16	Bill Luti, National Security Council	Meeting	US-KRG Relations
July 19	Mark Kimmitt, Department of Defense	Meeting	US-KRG Relations
July 30	Alex Mistri, White House Office of Legislative Affairs	Phone Call	US-KRG-Iraq Relations; Issues & Legislation
August 6	David Satterfield, Department of State	Phone Call	US-KRG Relations
August 8	Mark Kimmitt, Department of Defense	Meeting	US-KRG Relations
September 10	Mike Casey, House Armed Services Committee	E-mail	US-KRG-Iraq Relations
September 10	John Little, Office of Senator Mel Martinez (R-FL)	E-mail	US-KRG Relations
September 10	Jackie Kanatzar, Office of Rep. Mike Rogers (R-AL)	E-mail	US-KRG-Iraq Relations
September 13	Tom Hawkins, Office of the Senate Republican Leader	Meeting	US-KRG Relations
September 13	Puneet Talwar, Senate Foreign Relations Committee	Meeting	US-KRG-Iraq Relations
September 14	David Satterfield, Department of State	Phone Call	US-KRG-Turkey-Iraq Relations

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September 26	Chris Straub, Department of Defense	Meeting	US-KRG-Turkey-Iraq Relations
October 1	Puneet Talwar, Senate Foreign Relations Committee	E-mail	US-KRG-Iraq Relations
October 4	Richard Falkenrath, New York Police Department	E-mail	Meeting Request for KRG Official
October 11	David Satterfield, Department of State	Phone Call	US-KRG-Turkey-Iraq Relations
October 12	Ross Wilson, Department of State	E-mail	US-KRG-Turkey-Iraq Relations
October 15	Puneet Talwar, Senate Foreign Relations Committee	E-mail	Meeting Request for KRG officials
October 15	Matthias Mittman, National Security Council	Phone Call	Helped arrange meeting for KRG officials
October 15	Bob Kittrinos, National Security Council	Phone Call	Helped arrange meeting for KRG officials
October 15	Brett McGurk, National Security Council	Meeting	Helped arrange meeting for KRG officials
October 15	Ross Wilson, Department of State	E-mail	US-KRG-Turkey-Iraq Relations
October 18	Ross Wilson, Department of State	E-mail	US-KRG-Turkey-Iraq Relations
October 18	Matthias Mittman, National Security Council	Meeting	US-KRG-Turkey Relations
October 18	Bob Kittrinos, National Security Council	Meeting	US-KRG-Turkey Relations
October 18	Brett McGurk, National Security Council	Meeting	US-KRG-Turkey Relations
October 18	Alan Makovsky, Senior Staff Member, House Foreign Affairs Committee	E-mail	Helped arrange meeting for KRG official
October 21	Matt Bryza, Department of State	E-mail	US-KRG-Turkey Relations
October 22	Puneet Talwar, Senate Foreign Relations Committee	Phone Call	Helped arrange meeting for KRG officials

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October 22	Perry Cammack, Senate Foreign Relations Committee	Phone Call	Helped arrange meeting for KRG officials
October 22	Patrick A. Garvey, Senate Foreign Relations Committee	Phone Call	Helped arrange meeting for KRG officials
October 22	Mark String, Senate Foreign Relations Committee	Phone Call	Helped arrange meeting for KRG officials
October 22	Mark Kimmitt, Department of Defense	Phone Call	Helped arrange meeting for KRG officials
October 22	Carter Ham, Department of Defense	Phone Call	Helped arrange meeting for KRG officials
October 22	Ross Wilson, Department of State	Phone Call	US-KRG-Turkey-Iraq Relations
October 22	Matt Bryza, Department of State	Phone Call	US-KRG-Turkey Relations
October 23	Ross Wilson, Department of State	E-mail	US-KRG-Turkey Relations
October 24	Josh Carter, Office of Senator Brownback (R-KS)	E-mail	US-KRG-Turkey Relations
October 24	David Satterfield, Department of State	Meeting	US-KRG-Turkey Relations
October 24	Ross Wilson, Department of State	Phone Call	US-KRG-Turkey Relations
October 25	Ross Wilson, Department of State	Phone Call	US-KRG-Turkey Relations
October 27	David Satterfield, Department of State	E-mail	US-KRG-Turkey-Iraq Relations
October 27	David Satterfield, Department of State	Phone Call	US-KRG-Turkey-Iraq Relations
October 27	Matt Bryza, Department of State	E-mail	US-KRG-Turkey Relations
October 27	Matt Bryza, Department of State	Phone Call	US-KRG-Turkey Relations
October 29	Patrick Garvey, Senate Foreign Relations Committee	E-mail	US-KRG Relations

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October 29	Karen Harbert, Department of Energy	E-mail	Meeting Request for KRG Official
October 29	Anne Merchant, Department of Energy	E-mail	Meeting Request for KRG Official
November 1	Ross Wilson, Department of State	Phone Call	US-KRG-Turkey Relations
November 2	Josh Carter, Office of Senator Sam Brownback (R-KS)	Meeting	US-KRG Relations
November 2	Brian Diffell, Office of Rep. Roy Blunt (R-MO)	Meeting	US-KRG Relations
November 5	Anne Merchant, Department of Energy	E-mail	Meeting Request for KRG official
November 6	Molly Williamson, Department of Energy	Meeting	US-KRG Relations
November 14	Anne Merchant, Department of Energy	E-mail	Meeting Request for KRG officials
November 21	David Satterfield, Department of State	Phone Call	US-KRG Relations
November 21	David Satterfield, Department of State	E-mail	US-KRG visa issue
November 21	Mark Kimmitt, Department of Defense	Phone Call	US-KRG Relations
November 21	Gregory McCarthy, House Foreign Affairs Committee	E-mail	Background on KRG for Codel
November 22	Ross Wilson, Department of State	E-mail	US-KRG-Turkey-Iraq Relations
November 23	Wanda Swinson, Department of Energy	Phone Call	Meeting Request for KRG Official
November 26	Molly Williamson, Department of Energy	Social Event	US-KRG Relations
November 26	Wanda Swinson, Department of Energy	E-mail	Meeting Request for KRG Official
November 26	Karen Harbert, Department of Energy	Phone Call	Meeting Request for KRG Official

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November 27	Wanda Swinson, Department of Energy	Phone Call	Meeting Request for KRG Official
November 27	Samuel Bodman & Staff (Karen Harbert, Jeff Kupfer, Molly Williamson & Al Hegburg), Department of Energy	Meeting	US-KRG Relations
November 28	Ross Wilson, Department of State	Phone Call	US-KRG Relations
November 28	Patrick Garvey, Senate Foreign Relations Committee	Phone Call	Staff delegation to Iraq
November 28	Patrick Garvey, Senate Foreign Relations Committee	E-mail	Staff delegation to Iraq

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Date of Contact	Media Contacted	Means of Contact Made	Subject of Meeting
October 11	CNN	Phone Call	Helped arrange interview for KRG officials
October 12	Wall Street Journal	Phone Call	Helped arrange meeting for KRG officials
October 12	Wall Street Journal	E-mail	Helped arrange meeting for KRG officials
October 18	Washington Times	E-mail	Helped arrange meeting for KRG officials
October 18	Washington Times	Phone Call	Helped arrange meeting for KRG officials
October 18	Washington Times	Meeting	US-KRG-Turkey Relations
October 23	Washington Post	Phone Call	Helped arrange meeting for KRG officials
November 23	Washington Post	Meeting	US-KRG-Turkey Relations
November 23	Wall Street Journal	E-mail	Helped arrange meeting for KRG officials
November 26	Washington Post	Social Event	US-KRG Relations
November 26	Wall Street Journal	Social Event	US-KRG Relations



October 6, 2007

Taking the Lead on Iraqi Oil

By NECHIRVAN BARZANI

October 6, 2007; Page A20

This August, the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) of Iraq passed an oil and gas law to regulate the oil sector in our region. So far, we have signed eight production-sharing contracts with international oil and gas companies. We expect to sign another two in the near future.

We were deeply disappointed by the negative reaction of several officials in Baghdad to these contracts. In the last several months it has become clear to us that many in the Iraqi Oil Ministry are locked in a time warp dating back to the regime of Saddam Hussein, in which Baghdad holds tight control of all the resources of Iraq and uses these resources to create obeisance and loyalty to the center.

The KRG production sharing contracts are fully consistent with the Iraqi Constitution, which gives the regions of Iraq substantial control over natural resources. The contracts are also fully consistent with the draft Iraqi oil law that was agreed to this March, but has yet to be passed by the Iraqi National Assembly. The Kurdistan region's oil law, passed in August by our parliament, is 100% faithful to the agreed draft of the Iraqi law, and includes provisions for the KRG to share its oil revenue with the rest of Iraq in the same 83%-17% ratio. If we had intended to "go it alone," why would we ever consider passing a law which requires us to give 83% of the revenues to the rest of Iraq? We waited five months for the Iraqi Assembly to pass the agreed draft -- they have not acted, and there is no sign that they will act anytime soon. We decided to "lead from the front."

The Bush administration and Congress have been pressing the government in Baghdad to move ahead on a fair, transparent and efficient oil law. So have we. Neither of us have had any success. Thus, we have chosen to pass in our own assembly the very same law that was agreed to by all parties in March of this year.

We hope our friends and supporters in the U.S. will understand that this is not an attempt to usurp the nation's oil resources, but rather our best effort to move the process forward, leading by example to make these valuable resources work for the people of Iraq. The resources that can ease the suffering of the people of Iraq lie beneath our feet.

The Kurdistan region has achieved great things since the liberation of 2003. We are

proud to be described as the model for the rest of Iraq: tolerant, democratic, peaceful and working toward economic prosperity. We have been given a chance to build a bright future after decades of oppression and violence. Our political system, our judicial system, our physical infrastructure and our educational system all are in great need of modernization, but we will persevere with the help of our friends and by the fruits of our labor.

In 2003, we chose voluntarily and openly to remain part of Iraq, and we will continue to do so. But does this mean that we have to be held back by the chaos and bloodshed that dominate the rest of the country? Must we sit idly by, waiting for Iraqi politicians to waste months debating oil legislation that has already been agreed upon by the major parties?

We have tried our best to be a loyal ally of the U.S. We have supported nearly every major initiative and decision that the U.S. has sought in Iraq -- sometimes contrary to what we consider to be in our best interests. We will continue to do so because we believe that there is no alternative to maintaining the U.S. presence in Iraq. We want the U.S. to remain, and we need American help. In return for our loyalty we ask understanding. We are not a "rogue province" seeking an early escape from the chaos that has become Iraq. We are a people and a region that have seen nothing but death, destruction and deprivation from Baghdad over the decades. Does it surprise anyone that we harbor deep suspicions about becoming reliant on the capital that has brought us such misery for so many years?

In the past, oil in the Kurdistan region has been more of a curse than a blessing. The people have never benefited from our natural resources. Successive governments in Iraq have deliberately left our oil in the ground in an effort to keep our people poor and to deny our aspirations for a better way of life. Now, after so much suffering, we have a chance to turn this curse into a blessing. And we are asked to wait while the Iraqi parliament takes its vacation, and then considers new ways to manage *our* resources.

The answer is found in the principles of the Iraqi Constitution, the U.S. Constitution and many others around the world -- federalism. This is not just a concept to us. Federalism means that we have the liberty to develop our resources under the umbrella, but not the central control, of Iraq. It means that as 17% of the population we will receive 17% of the wealth, and that we will accordingly share 83% of our wealth with the rest of the population.

We want peace and prosperity for the rest of Iraq as well. We will contribute our fair share and more to that goal. But we cannot be asked to sit by and postpone our aspirations for prosperity in pursuit of a vision of a centralized Iraq that long ago passed from reality. We are trying to lead by example in all that we do. Our oil law, and the contracts we have signed, are nothing more than that.

Mr. Barzani is the prime minister of the Kurdistan Regional Government in Iraq.

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Kurdistan's Hope for Talks

Advertisement

By Nechirvan Barzani

Monday, November 5, 2007; A19

When President Bush and Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan meet today to discuss ongoing conflict between the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) and Turkey, we in the Kurdistan Regional Government of Iraq (KRG) will be listening with hope. We welcome this meeting. The only solution to this decades-old problem lies in diplomacy.

Let me be clear: The KRG is, and will remain, fully prepared to find a long-term solution to this problem. To this end, we propose talks among Ankara, Baghdad, Erbil and Washington. This is a transnational issue, complicated by ethnic ties, and no party can find a solution on its own. We will sit down at any time with anyone who seeks a negotiated, diplomatic resolution.

We must discard the rhetoric of violence and recognize that a military response to the current crisis would be a disaster for everyone except the PKK. We in the Kurdistan region of Iraq would be slowed on our path to peace, democracy and prosperity; the Turkish army would become bogged down in a bloody and unproductive struggle against the PKK outside its borders; the United States and Western allies would become estranged from a vital NATO ally; and the economies and peoples of the region -- particularly Turkey, Syria, Iran and Iraq -- would suffer.

We have tried to explain to our Turkish friends that we want only peace and cooperation with them. Our region depends heavily on investment and trade with Turkey. The great majority of foreign businesses operating here are Turkish, nearly all of our construction is done by Turkish contractors, we receive much of our electricity from Turkey and well over 75 percent of our imports arrive via Turkey. Why would we provoke Turkey into a military action that would severely damage our economy?

The history of this conflicted part of the world carries a message: Problems such as the PKK cannot be solved through military means. For decades the government of Saddam Hussein tried to liquidate the Kurdish people by violence, at a tremendous price for both sides. We ourselves fought against the PKK in the late 1990s with help from the Turkish military, and 10 years later we again find ourselves at a crisis point. The mountains inside our region and in Turkey have protected the PKK for decades, and there is little reason to believe that new military actions would be any more successful than past attempts. Problems for which military solutions are sought here seem to have a way of never getting resolved.

We have condemned and will continue to condemn the PKK for its unwarranted attacks in Turkey. We insist that its members lay down their arms immediately. We do not allow them to operate freely, contrary to what some have suggested. Turkey, with its substantial military capability, has not been able to eradicate the PKK within its own borders, yet some Turks inexplicably expect us to be successful with far fewer capabilities and resources.

Just as we ask the Turks to seek a peaceful resolution, so must the PKK abandon its failed strategy of armed conflict. Diplomacy and dialogue must be given a chance. With time, patience and stability, we believe that peaceful change can occur. Just 10 years ago the PLO and the IRA were considered terrorist organizations. Today they have begun a process of transformation and are working within the political arena. Can such a transformation take place within the PKK? We cannot be certain. But we do know that

military action will only radicalize the situation further, and violence will surely breed more violence.

We want peace along our border with Turkey. We want to cooperate on economic, social and cultural issues. We want to be a good neighbor and to exercise our responsibilities as good neighbors. Our successful efforts in cooperation with Ankara and Baghdad to secure the release of Turkish soldiers demonstrate our sincere desire to find peaceful solutions to the problem. We will continue taking concrete steps to improve the security environment at the border. But the Turkish government needs to overcome its refusal to talk to us as neighbors.

The Kurdistan region is the only part of Iraq where peace and development have prospered since the liberation of 2003, and we are the constitutionally recognized regional government in the area. We have come a long way both economically and politically. But much more work remains. We have chosen to become part of a federal Iraq and will uphold that commitment. We threaten no one as we move toward greater development. We hope that we can extend the hand of friendship to Turkey and work together to find solutions to this crisis that will lead to long-term stability and peaceful relations.

The writer is prime minister of the Kurdistan Regional Government of Iraq.

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The Washington Times

October 15, 2007 Monday

The Kurdish example; Creating a democratic, secular Iraq

BYLINE: By **Falah Mustafa Bakir**, SPECIAL TO THE WASHINGTON TIMES

SECTION: OPED; A19

LENGTH: 755 words

In 1998 I was barred from obtaining a graduate degree in Iraq because I refused to join Saddam Hussein's Ba'ath Party. Luckily, a prestigious British scholarship program allowed me to leave Erbil, the capital of the Kurdistan region of Iraq, and attend the University of Bath in England to get a degree in Development Studies. I've always found that rather ironic - not Ba'ath, but Bath.

Last week I again left Erbil, but this time as a member of the Iraqi delegation to the 62nd United Nations General Assembly. In the past two decades I have gone from being a member of a marginalized and oppressed group within Iraq to helping represent it to the outside world. While the news from Iraq may be dominated by terrorism and violence in a society that seems irrevocably split by ethnic and sectarian divisions, my being a member of this delegation showed another side to the story: Kurds and Arabs working together to make Iraq's case to the United Nations.

My presence in New York is also a tribute to the leadership of the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG), the resilience of the people of our region and the sacrifice of those who died unable to imagine that a day like this would ever come. And it will be proof positive that rather than let violence rip us apart, we in the Kurdistan region are dedicated to attaining a free, democratic, federal and pluralistic Iraq.

Some have criticized the KRG's commitment to federalism as a sign of Kurdish separatism or a long-term plan to "partition" Iraq. But this misreads Iraqi and Kurdish history. The Kurdistan region had been a de facto autonomous state since 1991, with the advent of Operations Provide Comfort and Northern Watch, the no-fly zone enforced by the United States, Britain and France following the 1991 Gulf War. It was the voluntary decision of the KRG to rejoin the rest of the country and participate in building an independent, federal and free Iraq for all of its people.

The Kurdistan Regional Government has shown itself to be a model for the democratic transition in Iraq. Not a single coalition soldier has been killed, our markets are vibrant and our people are relatively free of the terrorism inflicted on the rest of the country. We are not perfect, but we are getting things right. Our regional parliament has passed important legislation such as the Investment Law, which allows foreign companies the right of full property ownership, tax and customs-duty exemptions, repatriation of capital and the Kurdistan region's oil and gas law. Some in Baghdad have reacted negatively to this law, with arguments that smack of the overly centralized period of Saddam's autocracy. Our oil and gas law

conforms totally with the Iraqi Constitution's approach to federalism and the management of Iraq's energy resources.

Because of a favorable and welcoming investment climate, the KRG should be understood by the international community as the gateway to the rest of Iraq. Our commitments to the rule of law, security, democracy and tolerance are sources of strength, not division, for Iraq. The Kurdish ministers and members of parliament in the Iraqi government are internationally recognized for their competence and commitment to a democratic, federal and secular Iraq. We are on the side of freedom and democracy.

My personal commitments to both the Kurdistan region and a free, federal Iraq blend easily in my mind. After so much suffering under one of the worst dictatorships in modern history, the Iraqi people deserve a chance for a normal life - none more so than the Kurds, who were victims of a genocidal campaign and chemical-weapons attacks by Saddam's regime. I will do all I can to make sure that when the time comes, my children will be able to attend a university in their own country, and that their acceptance will not be dependent on membership in a political party.

When I left Erbil for the United Kingdom, I was going to a country unsullied by the violence and suppression I knew at home. Today, all Iraqi people dream of an end to the violence in Iraq. We dream of a federal country where democracy and human rights are upheld, where people are free to worship as they see fit, where one's ethnicity is irrelevant and where outside investment helps fuel a developing economy and benefits our infrastructure. But we don't only dream. The Kurdistan Regional Government of Iraq is working hard to make that future a reality for its people.

Falah Mustafa Bakir is head of the Department of Foreign Relations in the Kurdistan Regional Government of Iraq.

The **Washington Post**

September 6, 2007 Thursday
Regional Edition

Defending Iraq's Religious Minorities

SECTION: EDITORIAL COPY; Pg. A20

LENGTH: 221 words

Regarding Nina Shea's Aug. 27 op-ed, "Iraq's Endangered Minorities":

The Kurdistan Regional Government of Iraq (KRG) strongly condemned the bombings last month of two Yazidi villages. It is important to note, however, that these bombings took place in an area of the country administered by the central government of Iraq, not by the KRG.

Furthermore, the Kurdish leadership in Baghdad has long been a champion of the rights of non-Muslim minorities in Iraq. That is why that leadership ensured the protection of those rights in Iraq's permanent constitution.

However, as a result of religious persecution in many parts of Iraq, Christians have fled their homes and have sought safety in Iraq's Kurdistan region. Iraq's Christians deserve a secure home, which is why Kurds have opened their towns and cities to ensure their protection.

Moreover, the KRG, a pluralist government in which Christians head key ministries, does not oppose the creation of a "Nineveh province," as Ms. Shea claimed.

The KRG has a deep moral commitment to preventing a "cleansing campaign" against any Iraqis. Before Operation Iraqi Freedom, Kurds were victims of ethnic cleansing, a crime of genocide carried out by Saddam Hussein's regime with the awareness of the rest of the world.

QUBAD TALABANI

KRG Representative to the United States

Washington

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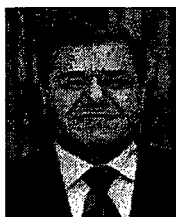
In Depth

Bakir: Kurdistan as a Model for Iraq

Interviewee: Falah Mustafa Bakir, Director of the Foreign Relations Department, Kurdistan Regional Government, Iraq

Interviewer: Greg Bruno, Staff Writer

October 22, 2007



Falah Mustafa Bakir, director of the foreign relations department for the Kurdistan Regional Government in Iraq, says his government favors a political solution to cross-border tensions with Turkey, but so far, Ankara has "only considered a military operation to solve this problem." He adds that while Kurds "would like to have an independent Kurdish state," political realities in Iraq have prompted Kurdish officials to embrace a federal government strategy to solving Iraq's sectarian problems.

Turkey's parliament has voted on a military plan to allow Turkish soldiers to conduct cross-border raids against Kurdish rebels in northern Iraq. How would the Kurdish government respond to such an act of aggression and, in your view, what's behind the latest tough talk from Ankara?

We believe the best way to solve this problem is through political dialogue. We understand Turkey's concerns and we are against the killing of civilians, but there is no military solution for this problem. It would be in the interests of both Turkey and the KRG [Kurdistan Regional Government] for this question to be addressed politically, and we believe there may now be an opportunity for a political approach.

So far the Turkish government has only considered a military operation to solve this problem. But history and experience have proven that you cannot solve such a problem only through military means. We believe there is a window of opportunity and the door is still open for an alternative to a military solution.

The Kurdistan Worker's Party (PKK) has been described as a Kurdish separatist group. As far as you can tell, what are the aims of the PKK, and what is your government doing to reign in the separatists?

In the last few years, the PKK has begun to change its conduct and it now may be ready for a peaceful approach within Turkey. Our understanding is that the PKK may be prepared to join the political process in Turkey, and it is left to the Turkish government to seize this opportunity for a potential political solution to this problem. But as far as we are concerned in the Kurdistan region of Iraq, we agree on the principle of noninterference in the internal affairs of Turkey, and we are not ready for the Iraqi-Kurdistan region to be used against Turkey or any of our neighbors. We do not provide support to any group that wants to create problems for Turkey.

The U.S. Congress recently voted to label the Ottoman Turk killing of Armenians in 1915 as genocide. The move has clearly angered Ankara, and could leave the impression that lawmakers in Washington have in some way turned their backs on the KRG. I was wondering what your thoughts were on this.

We do not want to be part of any friction between Turkey and the United States. We are allies with the United States and we are neighbors with Turkey—we want to enjoy good relations with everyone. We did not want Ankara's reaction to the House resolution to negatively affect our region, which is the only safe part of Iraq. Any military action by Turkey would jeopardize our hard work to cooperate with our Iraqi colleagues to build a more stable and prosperous future for all of the Iraqi people.

Shifting gears a bit: Kurdistan and Turkey have been in the news a bit lately

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Biddle: Security,
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Seen in Iraq in Recent
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Quarterly Report to
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because of growing cross-border tensions. Less heralded, however, are economic ties between your government and the Turkish government. What is the status of these economic partnerships?

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Even before the fall of Saddam's regime, we had encouraged Turkish companies to come and do business in the Iraqi-Kurdistan region. We had limited capacity internally and therefore wanted to reach out to those Turkish companies who have had a good reputation and good performance and invite them to be active in our region. After the fall of the regime, the main construction projects have been granted to Turkish companies because we believe that both sides can benefit from these kinds of commercial and business activities. These ties are growing, not decreasing, and that is very good news. We want this trend to continue.

What sectors are you seeing the largest growth in?

Mainly construction—Irbil International Airport, Sulaymaniyah Airport, bridges, roads, public buildings—to name a few.

You mentioned in your speech to the United Nations this week that Kurdistan has experienced "an historic period of economic growth and expansion." I wonder if you could detail what those expansions are, and define this historic growth?

If you go back to the history of the Kurdistan region under the dictatorial regime of Saddam Hussein, the infrastructure was ruined and there was no attention given to the agricultural sector, industrial, or service sectors. It was after the fall of the regime that we got the opportunity to expand and institute economic and investment policies to encourage growth. These policies have provided an opportunity for the public sector, the private sector, and people who lived abroad to start small businesses. It's in the housing, tourism, agricultural, and construction sectors, and others, that the government is trying to build a stronger economic foundation for our people and for our future. People have started to have hope for the future and are working together for a better future.

You also mentioned during your speech at the United Nations that the Kurdistan region serves as a model for the rest of Iraq. Could you expand on that?

Since 1991 we have been free from Saddam Hussein's control. The Kurdistan National Assembly, our regional parliament, opted for a federal solution in 1992 in order to be part of a federal democratic system in Iraq. We wanted to show the rest of the country that, when given the opportunity, we are able to administer our own region and take care of our own affairs. We have agreed with the rest of the leadership in Iraq to draft a constitution which states that Iraq is a federal state, a democratic state, a state that lives in peace with its own people and its neighbors. Therefore we wanted the stability, security, and economic activities in Kurdistan to be seen as a gateway to the rest of Iraq, so that the rest of Iraq could be doing the same as Kurdistan. We believe that companies established here will move south when the time is right; Kurdistan is a gateway to the rest of the country.

You mention the Iraqi constitution and the federal system of government. Last month the U.S. Senate approved a nonbinding resolution that urged the furthering of this federal government strategy in Iraq. But the legislation has been widely criticized by the Shiite government in Baghdad, Sunni groups and, in fact, the U.S. Embassy. I wonder what your thoughts are on the resolution?

We were surprised by that reaction to and criticism of the nonbinding resolution. We understand what the resolution was asking for, and it was exactly what is stated in the Iraqi Constitution: the implementation a federal system in Iraq. After trying a strong central government, which has proven a failure, the best solution that we could see that would bring the diverse Iraqi groups together within a unified country in a federal system of governance. We see federalism as a solution and not a problem. Federalism means uniting Iraq and not partitioning Iraq. It's unfortunate that people have misrepresented federalism as a problem.

After trying a strong central government, which has proven a failure, the best solution we could see that would bring the diverse Iraqi groups together within a unified country is a federal system of governance.

The president of the Kurdistan region, Massoud Barzani, has called for a conference for all the major Iraqi political parties and groups to come to Kurdistan and discuss the most appropriate means of putting a federal system in place that will have the best chance to bring political stability and progress to Iraq. Again, this is an example of the Kurdistan Regional Government acting proactively and constructively to find the best solutions to the problems facing Iraq.

Now there are also those, however, who suggest that Kurdistan's favoring of this system is tantamount to favoring separatism. That seems to be the concern that Turkey has. What are your thoughts on that characterization of support for this strategy?

It's unfortunate, because we have contributed so positively to the political progress in Iraq and have given the best that we can. We have done our best in serving the Iraqi people. But unfortunately, still that kind of accusation, and that kind of fear, remains.

We have opted voluntarily to be part of a federal democratic system in Iraq. So long as Iraq continues to be committed to the constitution, we will remain part of Iraq. We know very well that it is in our interest to be part of this country, and we have

decided voluntarily to remain so. We have contributed so much to Iraq, and expect that the rest of Iraq can return that kind of goodwill and gesture from the KRG, so that we build together a federal and democratic system that can give us a situation that allows for power sharing and wealth sharing within the same country, which is for all Iraqis. Basically, the foreign, defense, and monetary policies would be handled by the federal government in Baghdad, and the rest would be left to the region.

The oil and gas law passed by the parliament of Kurdistan has been questioned by many, including the Iraqi oil minister. I wonder if you could talk on the subject of legality, and how the oil and gas law, as passed, benefits not just your region but Iraq as a whole.

Whatever we have done comes within the constitutional rights that our region enjoys. And more importantly, we talk about revenue sharing. Whatever we do, only 17 percent will come to the KRG area, while the rest, which is 83 percent, will go to the federal government in Baghdad. So we are committed to our constitutional rights, we are committed to the constitution. We are committed to revenue sharing. But our people have high expectations—they need services and better opportunities.

We cannot put our future on hold while the rest of the country stabilizes. Therefore we have an opportunity: Kurdistan can serve as the gateway for investors to come [through] and be a launching pad or a stepping-stone toward the rest of the country.

As an Iraqi from the Kurdish region of Irbil, do you believe the Kurdish region deserves its own independent state?

Every Kurd would like to have an independent Kurdish state. We are the largest nation in the world without a state. But we understand the difficulties. We understand the circumstances and the neighborhood we live in, and therefore there is a difference between what one wishes to achieve and what can be achieved.

Every Kurd would like to have an independent Kurdish state... We understand the circumstances and the neighborhood we live in, and therefore there is a difference between what one wishes to achieve, what is achievable, and what can be achieved.

The leadership of the Kurdistan region is wise enough and there is enough political maturity in the region for them to make calculations that take into consideration all the factors. Therefore they have opted for a federal democratic pluralistic system to be part of Iraq because they know what's in the interests of the people. During the elections, there was a referendum—97.5 percent of the people voted for an independent state, but still the political leadership tried its best to manage the expectations of the people and explain to the people why it's in the interests of the KRG to be part of Iraq and to work within Iraq.

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GUEST VOICE

Kurds: Armenians Win, We Pay the Price

By Falah Mustafa Bakir

Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan is asking his country's parliament this week to unanimously approve a "mobilization" against the Kurdistan Worker's Party (PKK), an action that he and other Turkish leaders have signaled could include a Turkish military attack on the Kurdistan Region of Iraq. Such an attack would represent the gravest challenge to Iraq since our liberation from Saddam Hussein in 2003 and would jeopardize, perhaps fatally, the success of the American mission in Iraq.

The Kurdistan Region is Iraq's safest and most secure. But we may soon pay a heavy price for the actions of the PKK in Turkey, and for a House Foreign Affairs Committee vote about Armenia in the U.S. – neither of which have anything to do with the Kurds of Iraq or the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG.)

The KRG seeks no conflict with Turkey. Quite the opposite: the KRG considers friendly relations with Turkey its top priority. We consider the Turkish people as close friends and neighbors with whom we have much in common. Turkish trade and investment has been instrumental to our region's economic growth. We are interested in pursuing stronger ties through direct dialogue with Ankara on any and all issues of common interest. Any problems or disagreements should be solved through diplomacy and dialogue, not threats of military force.

We condemn the killing of innocent people and we do not believe that violence ever solves problems. The KRG has supported U.S. mediation efforts with Iraq and Turkey about the PKK, and has encouraged efforts toward a comprehensive political solution to the problem of the PKK, which cannot be solved solely through military means.

The KRG does not and will not support the de-stabilization of Turkey or any of our neighbors. We respect and practice the principle of noninterference in the affairs of others, and expect the same in return. In that context, the Iranian intimidation and shelling of villages and towns along our eastern border must also stop. As with Turkey, we seek no confrontation with Iran. Since 1991, we have proven to Turkey, Iran and all of Iraq's neighbors that the Kurds are a stabilizing factor in Iraq and the Middle East.

The stakes could not be higher for Iraq, and for the peace and prosperity of the Kurdistan Region, which has proven itself the model and gateway for a new Iraq. The Kurds are America's most loyal and trusted allies in pursuit of an independent, democratic and federal Iraq. The current crisis on our borders comes at an especially inopportune and sensitive time with regard to on-going efforts in Iraq toward national reconciliation. This is very much a work in progress, but there is progress.

There is an emerging consensus among Iraqi politicians about federalism, which is Iraq's constitutionally mandated form of government. KRG President Masoud Barzani has called for a conference in Erbil among Iraq's political leaders to discuss how to implement a federal system of governance in our country. The diversity of Iraqi society is a source of strength, not division. Federalism has worked around the world – in the United States, the United Arab Emirates, and in many other countries. It should be seen as the solution, rather than the problem, for the deep governance challenges in Iraq. Federalism is not "partition," as some have misrepresented it. We appreciate those in the U.S. Senate who understand and have recognized the reality of a federal Iraq through an amendment to the U.S. Defense Authorization bill.

Some neighboring countries see the shadow of independence falling across all that we do in the Kurdistan Region. When the Iraqi constitution was drafted four years ago, the Kurdistan Region's leadership made a firm decision to remain part of Iraq. Despite the national tragedy that has befallen much of the rest of Iraq, we remain committed to that course of action today. We believe today that our future is best secured by becoming an active participant in a federal, democratic and secular Iraq.

Falah Mustafa Bakir is the Head of the Department of Foreign Relations, with Ministerial rank, in the Kurdistan Regional Government of Iraq.

Please e-mail PostGlobal if you'd like to receive an email notification when PostGlobal sends out a new question.

POSTED BY FALAH MUSTAFA BAKIR ON OCTOBER 15, 2007 2:59 PM

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Kayhan Barzegar: The Iran Game, Round Two
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Power Barometer: Kosovo Showdown

Letter From Erbil

From: Letter from Erbil [LetterFromErbil@kurdistantoday.net]

Sent: Monday, July 02, 2007 12:43 PM

To: 'Letter from Erbil'

Subject: Thomas L. Friedman on "The Kurdish Option"

"Dog Paddling in the Tigris"

By Thomas L. Friedman

Op-Ed Columnist

New York Times

July 1, 2007

London

It's too early to pronounce the U.S. military's surge in Iraq a failure. It's not too early to say, though, that there's no sign that it's succeeding — that it's making Iraqi politics or security better in any appreciable, self-sustaining way. At best, the surge is keeping Iraq from descending into full-scale civil war. At best we are dog paddling in the Tigris. Which means at least we should start to think about what happens if we have to get out of the water.

We have to start by taking stock — honestly — about where we are. President Bush talks about Iraq as a country where the vast majority of the people are longing to live with each other in peace, harmony and freedom, and where only a tiny minority of terrorists and die-hard Baathists are standing in the way.

I wish. If that were really the case, how could it be that after four years, hundreds of billions of dollars, tens of thousands of U.S. troops and thousands of casualties, we and our Iraqi allies have not been able to defeat this tiny minority? It doesn't add up. No minority could be that powerful.

The truth is we have a majorities problem in Iraq, not just a minority problem. For too many Iraqi leaders and too many of their followers, America's vision of Iraq — a unified, pluralistic, democratizing, free-market — is actually their second choice, at best.

The first choice for many Shiites is a pro-Iranian, Shiite-dominated religious Iraq, where Sunnis have little say and little power. The first choice for many Sunnis is a return to the good old days of Sunni minority rule over the Shiite majority. The first choice for many Kurds is an independent, democratic Kurdistan. In too many cases, the violence that is bedeviling Iraq today — while carried out by a minority of people — reflects the broad aspirations or fears of the respective majorities.

In short, our first-choice soldiers are dying for Iraqis' second choice. That is wrong, terribly wrong. It has to stop.

What to do? Most of the options being floated by Democrats and Republicans talk about abandoning the whole idea of trying to implant democracy in Iraq and focusing instead on America's core "national interests." Those are described as getting as many of our troops out of Iraq as possible, while preventing the inevitable Iraqi civil war — which would follow any U.S. withdrawal — from spreading around the region. Such proposals are only half right.

Some things are true even if George Bush believes them. And one thing that remains true (maybe the

only thing) about Mr. Bush's strategy toward Iraq is that it is still in our national interest to try to create a model of decent, progressive, pluralistic politics in the heart of the Arab world.

You need to only look at Gaza and Lebanon, not to mention Baghdad, to see how badly this region needs a different model of governance. But I just said earlier that we have a majorities problem in Iraq. So what to do? Build on the minority.

"Go for the Kurdish option," says Hazem Saghiyeh, the noted columnist for the London Arabic daily Al Hayat. "You can't build a democratic example in all of Iraq today, but you can build it in Kurdistan. That is where you should go."

He's right. If the surge fails to pave the way for a Sunni-Shiite power-sharing agreement in Iraq, then we have to remove our troops from their areas and relocate them to the border to contain their civil war. But we should also talk to the Kurds about setting up a base in Kurdistan and buttressing its development. Kurdistan is not Switzerland (still too much corruption). But it does have the cultural and institutional foundations — including an active Parliament, vibrant newspapers, open universities and free markets — for a decent democratizing example in the heart of the Arab-Muslim world. Many Iraqis have already fled to Kurdistan to find safety or even vacation in its thriving hotels. A U.S. base in Kurdistan would protect it from invasion by Turkey, and assure Turkey that an autonomous Kurdistan will not be a problem for it.

Nothing could justify the staggering cost of the Iraq war anymore, but if we could get one decent example implanted in the neighborhood, even a small one, at least it wouldn't be a total loss. The example set by little, progressive, modernizing, globalizing Dubai has had a big impact on other countries in the Gulf. A thriving, progressive Kurdistan could do the same. If such an example doesn't make Iraqi Sunnis and Shiites come to their senses, it will at least be a mirror that shows them every day how utterly wasteful, senseless and self-destructive their civil war is.

This Op-Ed can be found at: <http://select.nytimes.com/2007/07/01/opinion/01friedman.html>

Note: Barbour Griffith & Rogers, LLC, has filed registration statements under the Foreign Agents Registration Act with regard to its representation and dissemination of information on behalf of the Kurdistan Regional Government. Additional information is on file with the Foreign Agents Registration Unit of the Department of Justice in Washington, DC.

Letter From Erbil

From: Letter From Erbil [LetterFromErbil@kurdistantoday.net]

Sent: Tuesday, September 04, 2007 9:57 AM

Subject: Thomas L. Friedman on "The Kurdish Secret"

The Kurdish Secret

By Thomas L. Friedman

Op-Ed Columnist

The New York Times

September 2, 2007

Erbil, Iraq

Iraq today is a land of contrasts -- mostly black and blacker. Traveling around the central Baghdad area the past few days, I saw little that really gave me hope that the different Iraqi sects can forge a social contract to live together. The only sliver of optimism I find here is in the one region where Iraqis don't live together: Kurdistan.

Imagine for a moment if one outcome of the U.S. invasion of Iraq had been the creation of an American University of Iraq. Imagine if we had triggered a flood of new investment into Iraq that had gone into new hotels, a big new convention center, office buildings, Internet cafes, two new international airports and Iraqi malls. Imagine if we had paved the way for an explosion of newspapers, even a local Human Rights Watch chapter, and new schools. Imagine if we had created an island of decency in Iraq, with public parks, where women could walk unveiled and not a single American soldier was ever killed -- where Americans in fact were popular -- and where Islam was practiced in its most tolerant and open manner. Imagine ...

Well, stop imagining. It's all happening in Kurdistan, the northern Iraqi region, home to four million Kurds. I saw all of the above in Kurdistan's two biggest towns, Erbil and Sulaimaniya. The Bush team just never told anybody.

No, Kurdistan is not a democracy. It has real Parliamentary elections, but the region's executive branch is still more "Sopranos" than "West Wing," more Singapore than Switzerland -- dominated by two rival clans, the Talibanis and the Barzanis. It has a vibrant free press, as long as you don't insult the leadership, and way too much crony-corruption. But it is democratizing, gradually nurturing the civil society and middle class needed for a real democracy.

On Oct. 17, the new American University of Iraq will open classes in Sulaimaniya. "The board wanted three campuses, one in Kurdistan, one in Baghdad and one in Basra, but this is the only part of the country where an American University can open and function safely," said Owen Cargol, the school's chancellor.

Iraq is a disaster in so many ways, but at least America's invasion midwifed something really impressive in Kurdistan. And in the best way: we created the opening and the Kurds did the rest. But while the Kurds liberated their region from Saddam's army in the 1990s -- with U.S. air cover -- their current renaissance was only possible, they say, thanks to the overthrow of Saddam, their mortal enemy.

"Saddam's eyes were always on this region," said Nechirvan Barzani, prime minister of the Kurdistan regional government. Once he was toppled, "it gave us psychological hope for the future. Those who had

even a limited amount of money started to invest, start small businesses or buy a car, because they thought they could see the future. The uncertainty was removed. ... We have to thank the American people and government. But we are a lover from only one side. We love America, but nothing in response. They don't want to give the perception that they are helping us."

Added Hoshyar Omar, a 23-year-old student-translator: "My father was buried alive [by Saddam's men] when I was 3. I want to thank Mr. George Bush personally. ... He may have made some bad decisions, but freeing Iraq was the best decision he has ever made. ... We had nothing and we built this Kurdistan that you see."

Why is Kurdistan America's best-kept secret success? Because the Bush team is afraid the Kurds will break away. But the Kurds have no interest in splitting from Iraq now. Iraq's borders protect them from Turkey, Iran and Syria.

The Kurdish autonomous zone should be our model for Iraq. Does George Bush or Condi Rice have a better idea? Do they have any idea? Right now, we're surging aimlessly. Iraq's only hope is radical federalism -- with Sunnis, Shiites and Kurds each running their own affairs, and Baghdad serving as an A.T.M., dispensing cash for all three. Let's get that on the table -- now.

Months after Saddam's capture, a story made the rounds that he was asked, "If you were set free, could you stabilize Iraq again?" He supposedly said it would take him only "one hour and 10 minutes -- one hour to go home and shower and 10 minutes to reunify Iraq." Maybe an iron-fisted dictator could do that. America can't.

"No one here accepts to be ruled ever again by the other," Kosrat Ali, Kurdistan's vice president, told me. "If you get all the American forces to occupy all of the towns and the cities of Iraq, you might be able to centralize Iraq again. That is the only way." Otherwise, "centralized rule is finished in Iraq."

This Op-Ed can also be found at: <http://select.nytimes.com/2007/09/02/opinion/02friedmancolumn.html>

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Letter From Erbil

From: Letter From Erbil [LetterFromErbil@kurdistantoday.net]

Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2007 8:51 AM

Subject: Thomas L. Friedman on "What's Missing in Baghdad"

What's Missing in Baghdad

By Thomas L. Friedman

Op-Ed Columnist

The New York Times

September 9, 2007

Erbil, Iraq

One of the most troubling lessons of the Iraq invasion is just how empty the Arab dictatorships are. Once you break the palace, by ousting the dictator, the elevator goes straight to the mosque. There is nothing in between — no civil society, no real labor unions, no real human rights groups, no real parliaments or press. So it is not surprising to see the sort of clerical leadership that has emerged in both the Sunni and Shiite areas of Iraq.

But this is not true in northern Iraq, in Kurdistan. Though not a full-fledged democracy, Kurdistan is developing the key elements of a civil society. I met in Erbil with 20 such Kurdish groups — unions, human rights and political watchdogs, editors and women's associations. It is worth studying what went right in Kurdistan to understand what we still can and can't do to promote democratization in the rest of Iraq and the Arab world.

The United States played a critical role in Kurdistan. In 1998, we helped to resolve the Kurdish civil war — the power struggle between two rival clans — which created the possibility of a stable, power-sharing election in 2005. And by removing Saddam, we triggered a flood of foreign investment here.

But that is all we did. Today, there are almost no U.S. soldiers or diplomats in Kurdistan. Yet politics here is flourishing, as is the economy, because the Kurds want it that way. Down south, we've spent billions trying to democratize the Sunni and Shiite zones and have little to show for it.

Three lessons: 1) Until the power struggle between Sunnis and Shiites is resolved, you can't establish any stable politics in southern Iraq. 2) When people want to move down a progressive path, there is no stopping them. When they don't, there is no helping them. 3) Culture matters. The Kurdish Islam is a moderate, tolerant strain, explained Salam Bawari, head of Kurdistan's Democracy and Human Rights Research Center. "We have a culture of pluralism," he said. "We have 2,000 years of living together with people living around us." Actually, there are still plenty of Arab-Kurdish disputes, but there is an ethos of tolerance here you don't find elsewhere in Iraq.

While visiting Kurdistan, I read a timely new book, "Democracy's Good Name: The Rise and Risks of the World's Most Popular Form of Government," by my friend Michael Mandelbaum, a foreign affairs expert at Johns Hopkins University. It is highly relevant to America's democracy project in Iraq and beyond.

Mr. Mandelbaum argues that democracy is made up of two elements: liberty and popular sovereignty. "Liberty involves what governments do" — the rule of law, the protection of people from abuses of state

power and the regulations by which government institutions operate, he explains. Popular sovereignty involves how the people determine who governs them — through free elections.

What Baghdad exemplifies, Mr. Mandelbaum says, is what happens when you have elections without liberty. You end up with a tyranny of the majority, or what Fareed Zakaria has labeled “illiberal democracy.” Kurdistan, by contrast, has a chance to build a balanced democracy, because it is nurturing the institutions of liberty, not just holding elections.

What the Kurdistan-Baghdad contrast also illustrates, notes Mr. Mandelbaum, is that “we can help create the conditions for democracy to take root, but people have to develop the skills and values that make it work themselves.”

In the southern part of Iraq “you have people who are undemocratic who have a democratic government,” said Hemin Malazada, who heads a Kurdish journalists’ association. “In Kurdistan, you have a democratic government for a democratic people.”

One way a country develops the software of liberty, Mr. Mandelbaum says, is by nurturing a free market. Kurdistan has one. The economy in the rest of Iraq remains a mess. “A market economy,” he argues, “gives people a stake in peace, as well as a constructive way of dealing with people who are strangers. Free markets teach the basic democratic practices of compromise and trust.”

Democracy can fail because of religious intolerance, the curse of oil, a legacy of colonialism and military dictatorship, or an aversion to Western values — the wellspring of democracy. The Middle East, notes Mr. Mandelbaum, is the one region afflicted by all of these maladies. That doesn’t mean democratization is impossible here, as the Kurds demonstrate. But it does mean it’s really hard. Above all, Iraq teaches us that democracy is possible only when people want both pillars of it — liberty and self-government — and build both themselves. We’re miles away from that in Baghdad.

This Op-Ed can also be found at:

<http://select.nytimes.com/2007/09/09/opinion/09friedmancolumn.html?n=>

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Letter From Erbil

From: Letter From Erbil [LetterFromErbil@kurdistantoday.net]

Sent: Thursday, September 20, 2007 5:28 PM

Subject: Kurdistan capital sets example for Iraq

Kurdistan capital sets example for Iraq

By Christopher Torchia

The Associated Press

September 20, 2007

Erbil, Iraq — For anyone who has spent time in Baghdad, the most startling thing about a visit to Kurdistan's capital, Erbil, is that it resembles a city at peace, at least by Iraqi standards. The last bomb to hit Erbil was on May 9, when 14 people died in a suicide attack on a government building.

Planes flying into Baghdad execute a rapid spiral toward the runway to reduce the chances of getting hit by any ground fire. U.S. and Iraqi military vehicles ply the highway leading into the city from the airport. Traffic crawls through heavily defended checkpoints.

But the biggest hassle for a visitor arriving by plane in Erbil is mundane, a long wait in line at immigration. "Do you have your DOD card?" an officer asked, mistaking an American civilian for a U.S. government employee affiliated with the Department of Defense.

The next cultural shock is the relative lack of guns on the streets of Erbil, an ancient city near the site of a battlefield victory of the Macedonian king, Alexander the Great, over forces of the Persian empire. A little more than a decade ago, the city was the scene of fighting among Kurdish factions, one of them backed by Saddam Hussein's military.

Soldiers, some in uniforms of American-made desert camouflage, carry automatic weapons outside key government buildings. Some armed guards, visibly relaxed, stroll down avenues or lounge outside banks, fuel depots and other installations. They don't wear helmets or bulletproof vests.

Security is tighter around a compound in the Ainkawa neighborhood of Erbil where foreign contractors and US diplomatic staff live. Even here, though, the concrete blast walls are fewer, and lower, than those found at similar installations in Baghdad. Ainkawa is a Christian district in a Kurdish city, which is as safe as it gets for Westerners in Iraq.

Kurds are a non-Arab people distantly related to the Iranians and make up about 15 percent of Iraq's 27 million people. Neighboring Iran, Syria and Turkey also have Kurdish minorities that have come into conflict with governments seeking to curb their separatist movements.

Iraqi Kurds rebelled against Saddam after the Gulf War in 1991. U.S.-led forces created a safe haven for the Kurds, who eventually established a stable, self-governing territory that had little in common with the chaos elsewhere in Iraq.

They rejoined the central government after Saddam was ousted in 2003, though maintain a big say in their own affairs.

As US allies, the Kurds are targets of insurgents, and the area under their control lies close to troubled cities such as Mosul and Kirkuk. But bombings in the Kurds' semiautonomous zone are considered

unusual, partly a result of rigorous policing that keeps attackers outside the so-called "Green Line" that divides Kurdistan from the rest of Iraq.

An official of the Kurdistan Regional Government invited an American journalist for ice cream and a walk through downtown late one night to show that Erbil was safe. Such an excursion in Baghdad, for a foreigner or an Iraqi, would be extremely unwise. And unlike the Iraqi capital, Erbil does not impose curfews.

Tea shops were packed and smoke billowed from a barbecue restaurant. Iskan Street, a shopping thoroughfare, was hopping, even though it was quieter than usual because Islam's holy month of Ramadan is under way. The official urged the journalist to walk around at night by himself.

Some foreign investors from neighboring Turkey and elsewhere have been attracted by Erbil's stable security and its income from oil reserves in the region. Half-built, high-rise apartments and office towers are rising from the dusty plains, but public services and infrastructure need to be upgraded.

In one Baghdad-style image in Erbil this week, half a dozen armored, sports utility vehicles carrying a U.S. congressional delegation barreled past the Citadel, a walled, crumbling enclave on the highest point in the city. The convoy was forced to stop on a crowded street as a driver, to the amusement of onlookers, tried to parallel park in front of it.

Sirens whooped, and the convoy sped on.

The U.S. military presence in Kurdistan is minimal. More than 1,000 South Korean troops in the area provide medical care at a hospital on their base and other humanitarian projects. It is easy to reach their compound entrance; just get waved through two lackluster, Kurdish checkpoints without a car or ID check. On a recent day, half a dozen South Korean soldiers without body armor crowded into a kiosk at the main gate to listen to an officer's instructions.

Private car owners in Erbil don't seem to have any qualms about driving around in big, white SUVs. Such vehicles are frequently attacked in Baghdad and other more dangerous parts of Iraq because they are favored by foreign contractors. In Kurdistan's capital, there are even a few Hummers, the civilian version of the American military Humvee.

The largely homogenous, civilian population in Kurdistan, eager to stay away from the sectarian and factional bloodshed among Sunni and Shiite Arabs farther south, keeps in close contact with their trusted security forces.

If a suspicious person loiters too long near a government building, someone will contact the authorities. If someone rents an apartment, the owner will likely demand proof of identity and clearance from security officials. Checkpoint guards want to know where travelers came from, where they're going, and whom they are going to see.

For all the security successes, Kurdistan's safety is fragile by international standards. Last month, Austrian Airlines suspended flights to Erbil because of security concerns, and Sweden has also suspended commercial flights to the region.

Falah Mustafa Bakir, head of Kurdistan's foreign relations department, said the Kurds had appealed in vain to American forces to provide surveillance cameras, equipment that detects explosives and other high-tech security gear. But he said he felt comfortable without bodyguards.

"I drive alone," Bakir said. "I go the market. I go to restaurants."

This article can also be found at: <http://www.krg.org/articles/detail.asp?lngnr=12&smap=02010200&nr=73&anr=20262>

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Letter From Erbil

From: Letter From Erbil [LetterFromErbil@kurdistantoday.net]
Sent: Thursday, September 27, 2007 4:36 PM
Subject: US Senate passes legislation backing federal system for Iraq

US Senate passes legislation backing federal system for Iraq

Senate calls the Kurdistan Region "peaceful and stable" and urges Iraq's neighbors to support the wishes of the Iraqi people.

September 27, 2007

Washington DC, USA (KRG.org) - The US Senate today continued to show its strong support for a peaceful and prosperous Kurdistan Region by overwhelmingly supporting a bipartisan amendment that calls for the United States to "actively support a political settlement in Iraq based on the final provisions of the constitution of Iraq that create a federal system of government and allow for the creation of federal regions."

The measure, approved on a 75 to 23 vote, strengthens the overall US strategy for Iraq. While continuing to support a federal, unified Iraq, the Senate measure bolsters the US-Iraqi "bottom-up strategy" of devolving political and economic powers to Iraq's regions and provinces.

The amendment, part of the Defense Authorization Act, also highlights the success of the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG), recognized by the constitution of Iraq as the administration of the Kurdistan Region, as a peaceful, stable and vital example of the path that all of Iraq should follow.

Qubad Talabany, the KRG's US Representative in Washington, said, "We are very pleased that our friends in the Senate recognize and support our long efforts to help democracy, tolerance and freedom take root in Iraq." He added, "The KRG applauds the US Senate on passing this significant legislation. By building on the example of the Kurdistan Region, together we can pave the way for a peaceful and prosperous future for all of Iraq."

Introduced by two US presidential candidates, senators Joseph Biden (D-DE) and Sam Brownback (R-KS), the amendment was sponsored by 15 other senators, including Majority Leader Harry Reid (D-NV). The plan supports the federal political solution in Iraq that many independent diplomats, academics and observers say is the best strategy to bring calm and progress to region, while soothing anxious political concerns.

Also in the amendment, the Senate calls on those nations with troops in Iraq, the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, nations of the Gulf Cooperation Council and Iraq's neighbors, as well as others in the international community, to strongly support an Iraqi settlement based on federalism and to respect the wishes of the Iraqi people and their elected officials.

This KRG statement can be found at: www.krg.org.

Note: Barbour Griffith & Rogers, LLC, has filed registration statements under the Foreign Agents Registration Act with regard to its representation and dissemination of information on behalf of the Kurdistan Regional Government. Additional information is on file with the Foreign Agents Registration Unit of the Department of Justice in Washington, DC.

Letter From Erbil

From: Letter From Erbil [LetterFromErbil@kurdistantoday.net]

Sent: Monday, October 01, 2007 9:57 AM

Subject: Spokesman for Presidency of Kurdistan Region welcomes US Senate resolution on federalism in Iraq

Spokesman for Presidency of Kurdistan Region welcomes US Senate resolution on federalism in Iraq

September 28, 2007

Spokesman for the Presidency of the Kurdistan Region

The people and government of the Kurdistan Region welcome the adoption of the US Senate resolution calling for the rebuilding of the Iraqi state on the basis of federalism. This resolution conforms with the pillars of the Iraqi Constitution. A federal arrangement for the Iraqi state does not mean division, but rather voluntary union. It is the only viable solution to the problems of Iraq.

Federalism is the sound motor that will drive the construction of the new Iraq. It recognizes, without exception, the rights and duties of all constituents in Iraq.

The people of Kurdistan, who have struggled for decades to achieve democracy and freedom, see in federalism the promise of stability and freedom from dictatorial regimes. We welcome this significant resolution in support of federalism, which guarantees the survival of Iraq on the basis of voluntary union.

This KRG statement can be found at: www.krg.org.

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Letter From Erbil

From: Letter From Erbil [LetterFromErbil@kurdistantoday.net]
Sent: Tuesday, October 09, 2007 12:06 PM
Subject: WSJ Commentary: Taking the Lead on Iraqi Oil by Nechirvan Barzani

Taking the Lead on Iraqi Oil

By Nechirvan Barzani

Wall Street Journal

Commentary

October 6, 2007; Page A20

This August, the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) of Iraq passed an oil and gas law to regulate the oil sector in our region. So far, we have signed eight production-sharing contracts with international oil and gas companies. We expect to sign another two in the near future.

We were deeply disappointed by the negative reaction of several officials in Baghdad to these contracts. In the last several months it has become clear to us that many in the Iraqi Oil Ministry are locked in a time warp dating back to the regime of Saddam Hussein, in which Baghdad holds tight control of all the resources of Iraq and uses these resources to create obeisance and loyalty to the center.

The KRG production sharing contracts are fully consistent with the Iraqi Constitution, which gives the regions of Iraq substantial control over natural resources. The contracts are also fully consistent with the draft Iraqi oil law that was agreed to this March, but has yet to be passed by the Iraqi National Assembly. The Kurdistan region's oil law, passed in August by our parliament, is 100% faithful to the agreed draft of the Iraqi law, and includes provisions for the KRG to share its oil revenue with the rest of Iraq in the same 83%-17% ratio. If we had intended to "go it alone," why would we ever consider passing a law which requires us to give 83% of the revenues to the rest of Iraq? We waited five months for the Iraqi Assembly to pass the agreed draft -- they have not acted, and there is no sign that they will act anytime soon. We decided to "lead from the front."

The Bush administration and Congress have been pressing the government in Baghdad to move ahead on a fair, transparent and efficient oil law. So have we. Neither of us have had any success. Thus, we have chosen to pass in our own assembly the very same law that was agreed to by all parties in March of this year.

We hope our friends and supporters in the U.S. will understand that this is not an attempt to usurp the nation's oil resources, but rather our best effort to move the process forward, leading by example to make these valuable resources work for the people of Iraq. The resources that can ease the suffering of the people of Iraq lie beneath our feet.

The Kurdistan region has achieved great things since the liberation of 2003. We are proud to be described as the model for the rest of Iraq: tolerant, democratic, peaceful and working toward economic prosperity. We have been given a chance to build a bright future after decades of oppression and violence. Our political system, our judicial system, our physical infrastructure and our educational system all are in great need of modernization, but we will persevere with the help of our friends and by the fruits of our labor.

In 2003, we chose voluntarily and openly to remain part of Iraq, and we will continue to do so. But does

this mean that we have to be held back by the chaos and bloodshed that dominate the rest of the country? Must we sit idly by, waiting for Iraqi politicians to waste months debating oil legislation that has already been agreed upon by the major parties?

We have tried our best to be a loyal ally of the U.S. We have supported nearly every major initiative and decision that the U.S. has sought in Iraq -- sometimes contrary to what we consider to be in our best interests. We will continue to do so because we believe that there is no alternative to maintaining the U.S. presence in Iraq. We want the U.S. to remain, and we need American help. In return for our loyalty we ask understanding. We are not a "rogue province" seeking an early escape from the chaos that has become Iraq. We are a people and a region that have seen nothing but death, destruction and deprivation from Baghdad over the decades. Does it surprise anyone that we harbor deep suspicions about becoming reliant on the capital that has brought us such misery for so many years?

In the past, oil in the Kurdistan region has been more of a curse than a blessing. The people have never benefited from our natural resources. Successive governments in Iraq have deliberately left our oil in the ground in an effort to keep our people poor and to deny our aspirations for a better way of life. Now, after so much suffering, we have a chance to turn this curse into a blessing. And we are asked to wait while the Iraqi parliament takes its vacation, and then considers new ways to manage *our* resources.

The answer is found in the principles of the Iraqi Constitution, the U.S. Constitution and many others around the world -- federalism. This is not just a concept to us. Federalism means that we have the liberty to develop our resources under the umbrella, but not the central control, of Iraq. It means that as 17% of the population we will receive 17% of the wealth, and that we will accordingly share 83% of our wealth with the rest of the population.

We want peace and prosperity for the rest of Iraq as well. We will contribute our fair share and more to that goal. But we cannot be asked to sit by and postpone our aspirations for prosperity in pursuit of a vision of a centralized Iraq that long ago passed from reality. We are trying to lead by example in all that we do. Our oil law, and the contracts we have signed, are nothing more than that.

Mr. Barzani is the prime minister of the Kurdistan Regional Government in Iraq.

This article can be found at (subscription-only):
<http://online.wsj.com/article/SB119163296042450938.html>
 This article can be also be found in full at: www.krg.org

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Letter From Erbil

From: Letter From Erbil [LetterFromErbil@kurdistantoday.net]

Sent: Tuesday, October 09, 2007 6:17 PM

Subject: President of Kurdistan Region announces conference on federalism in Erbil

President of Kurdistan Region announces conference on federalism in Erbil

Spokesman for the Presidency of the Kurdistan Region

October 3, 2007

Conference to discuss the role of federalism following the recent passage of the amendment to the Defense Authorization Spending bill in the US Senate.

The passage of the US Senate amendment to the Defense Authorization Bill regarding federalism in Iraq, and the Kurdistan President's clear support of this issue as outlined in the Iraqi Constitution, has caused some to level accusations and threats.

We sincerely believe that federalism is the solution to many of the problems faced by Iraq today. We have long held this view, and it was adopted by the opposition parties long before the downfall of Saddam Hussein.

The majority of Iraqi's voted for the Constitution and federalism is an Iraqi choice. Most of the political parties and movements participating in the political process also support federalism. Federalism was an Iraqi position long before it was a foreign one. Rather than simply being a Kurdistan issue, federalism is a constitutional expression that can help the entire country.

The Kurdistan political parties and leaders of the Kurdistan Region have played a key role in keeping Iraq united. Division and partition have never been the goal of the Kurdistan political parties since it is contrary to the desire of the Iraqi people.

The reaction to the amendment passed by the US Senate has begun to take a dangerous turn. Those who have opposed the Iraqi Constitution are taking this opportunity to undermine that Constitution's democratic and federal principles under the pretext of standing against foreign intervention.

The reality in Iraq since its foundation reveals that:

1. Central rule has always led to one group taking power to the detriment of others. This dominant group has held onto power through dictatorial methods and violence against the Iraqi people. Central rule has offered nothing but destruction and ruin.
2. Central rule has relegated the Kurdish people and the people of the South of Iraq to second class citizens.
3. Power sharing should be amongst the key components of the people of Iraq and Iraq should be rebuilt on the basis of voluntary union.
4. The current reality in Iraq reveals that religious and sectarian identities are expressing themselves in political and religious terms. For example, political-religious parties consider themselves representative of the Sunni's while at the same time many Islamic parties express themselves as representatives of the Shi'a's. Arab Iraq is ideologically divided between Sunni and Shi'a. State, government, and society are

12/10/2007

all viewed through a religious lens.

5. Despite the Kurds being the majority ethnicity in the Kurdistan Region, we know and value the fact that people of different religions – Islam, Christianity, Yezhidi – and ethnic groups – Turcomen, Assyrians, Chaldeans – make up our community. We have adopted a policy of coexistence in our Region. We call on our brothers in Iraq to do the same. We have always been a helpful factor in reconciling Sunnis and Shi'as.

6. The federal system affords the governorates of other parts of the country, in the south and west, to become their own federal regions. The mechanism to build a federal system exists in the Iraq Constitution.

This is the political, social, ethnic, religious reality of Iraqi society. The final choice as to how to build a federal system belongs to Iraqis. The amendment passed in the US Senate mirrors what is written in the Iraqi Constitution – a document that all Iraqi Government officials swore to uphold. It seems that the majority of those who have voiced concern over the amendment either did not read it carefully or are simply using it as an excuse to express their chauvinist ideas in an attempt to return to abhorred central dominance.

The amendment to the Defense Authorization Spending bill refers to the fact that the first article of the Iraqi Constitution reads; “The Republic of Iraq is an independent federal state.” The amendment also refers to Article 116 of the 5th Chapter of the Constitution which is relevant to the regions when it says; “The federal system in the Republic of Iraq is made up of a decentralised capital, regions and governorates, and local administrations.” The amendment further refers to the power and authority of regions, the exclusive powers of the centre and the mechanism of forming a region. The Senate amendment clearly refers to the law of the Iraqi Council of Representatives regarding federalism adopted on 11 October 2006, and valid after 18 months. The decision calls for the US to support the political agreements among Iraqis on the basis of the Iraqi Constitution and building federal rule.

So where is the sectarian partition project referred to by the detractors? And is emphasising the Iraqi Constitution and the decision of the Iraq Council of Representatives against the political process and Iraqi people, or for their interests? Dealing with the Iraqi reality in an emotional and irrational way, and depicting the reality differently will lead to further complications. We are committed to the Iraqi Constitution and to building a federal Iraq because it is the choice of the majority of Iraqis.

In order to discuss the major problems facing Iraq, build relations, consensus and a common vision for the future, strengthen public participation in the political process, and discuss the federal model, the Kurdistan President will invite all Iraqi political parties, movements, and influential figures to a conference in Erbil.

This initiative springs from our commitment to a united, federal, democratic, and pluralistic Iraq where the rights of all are guaranteed.

After consultation with the specific parties and further development of the idea we will send out official invitations for the conference.

This KRG statement can be found at: www.krg.org.

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with the Foreign Agents Registration Unit of the Department of Justice in Washington, DC.

Letter From Erbil

From: Letter From Erbil [LetterFromErbil@kurdistantoday.net]

Sent: Monday, October 15, 2007 5:52 PM

Subject: KRG Minister Falah Mustafa Bakir on "The Kurdish Example" (The Washington Times)

The Kurdish Example

By Falah Mustafa Bakir

Washington Times

Commentary

October 15, 2007

In 1998 I was barred from obtaining a graduate degree in Iraq because I refused to join Saddam Hussein's Ba'ath Party. Luckily, a prestigious British scholarship program allowed me to leave Erbil, the capital of the Kurdistan region of Iraq, and attend the University of Bath in England to get a degree in Development Studies. I've always found that rather ironic — not Ba'ath, but Bath.

Last week I again left Erbil, but this time as a member of the Iraqi delegation to the 62nd United Nations General Assembly. In the past two decades I have gone from being a member of a marginalized and oppressed group within Iraq to helping represent it to the outside world. While the news from Iraq may be dominated by terrorism and violence in a society that seems irrevocably split by ethnic and sectarian divisions, my being a member of this delegation showed another side to the story: Kurds and Arabs working together to make Iraq's case to the United Nations.

My presence in New York is also a tribute to the leadership of the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG), the resilience of the people of our region and the sacrifice of those who died unable to imagine that a day like this would ever come. And it will be proof positive that rather than let violence rip us apart, we in the Kurdistan region are dedicated to attaining a free, democratic, federal and pluralistic Iraq.

Some have criticized the KRG's commitment to federalism as a sign of Kurdish separatism or a long-term plan to "partition" Iraq. But this misreads Iraqi and Kurdish history. The Kurdistan region had been a de facto autonomous state since 1991, with the advent of Operations Provide Comfort and Northern Watch, the no-fly zone enforced by the United States, Britain and France following the 1991 Gulf War. It was the voluntary decision of the KRG to rejoin the rest of the country and participate in building an independent, federal and free Iraq for all of its people.

The Kurdistan Regional Government has shown itself to be a model for the democratic transition in Iraq. Not a single coalition soldier has been killed, our markets are vibrant and our people are relatively free of the terrorism inflicted on the rest of the country. We are not perfect, but we are getting things right. Our regional parliament has passed important legislation such as the Investment Law, which allows foreign companies the right of full property ownership, tax and customs-duty exemptions, repatriation of capital and the Kurdistan region's oil and gas law. Some in Baghdad have reacted negatively to this law, with arguments that smack of the overly centralized period of Saddam's autocracy. Our oil and gas law conforms totally with the Iraqi Constitution's approach to federalism and the management of Iraq's energy resources.

Because of a favorable and welcoming investment climate, the KRG should be understood by the international community as the gateway to the rest of Iraq. Our commitments to the rule of law, security, democracy and tolerance are sources of strength, not division, for Iraq. The Kurdish ministers and

members of parliament in the Iraqi government are internationally recognized for their competence and commitment to a democratic, federal and secular Iraq. We are on the side of freedom and democracy.

My personal commitments to both the Kurdistan region and a free, federal Iraq blend easily in my mind. After so much suffering under one of the worst dictatorships in modern history, the Iraqi people deserve a chance for a normal life — none more so than the Kurds, who were victims of a genocidal campaign and chemical-weapons attacks by Saddam's regime. I will do all I can to make sure that when the time comes, my children will be able to attend a university in their own country, and that their acceptance will not be dependent on membership in a political party.

When I left Erbil for the United Kingdom, I was going to a country unsullied by the violence and suppression I knew at home. Today, all Iraqi people dream of an end to the violence in Iraq. We dream of a federal country where democracy and human rights are upheld, where people are free to worship as they see fit, where one's ethnicity is irrelevant and where outside investment helps fuel a developing economy and benefits our infrastructure. But we don't only dream. The Kurdistan Regional Government of Iraq is working hard to make that future a reality for its people.

Falah Mustafa Bakir is head of the Department of Foreign Relations in the Kurdistan Regional Government of Iraq.

This commentary can also be found at: <http://washingtontimes.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=/20071015/EDITORIAL/110150005>

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Letter From Erbil

From: Letter From Erbil [LetterFromErbil@kurdistantoday.net]

Sent: Tuesday, October 16, 2007 4:43 PM

Subject: KRG Minister Falah Mustafa Bakir: KRG seeks no conflict with Turkey

Comment: KRG seeks no conflict with Turkey

By Falah Mustafa Bakir

PostGlobal on washingtonpost.com and at www.krg.org

October 15, 2007

Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan is asking his country's parliament this week to unanimously approve a "mobilization" against the Kurdistan Worker's Party (PKK), an action that he and other Turkish leaders have signaled could include a Turkish military attack on the Kurdistan Region of Iraq. Such an attack would represent the gravest challenge to Iraq since our liberation from Saddam Hussein in 2003 and would jeopardize, perhaps fatally, the success of the American mission in Iraq.

The Kurdistan Region is Iraq's safest and most secure. But we may soon pay a heavy price for the actions of the PKK in Turkey, and for a House Foreign Affairs Committee vote about Armenia in the U.S. – neither of which have anything to do with the Kurds of Iraq or the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG.)

The KRG seeks no conflict with Turkey. Quite the opposite: the KRG considers friendly relations with Turkey its top priority. We consider the Turkish people as close friends and neighbors with whom we have much in common. Turkish trade and investment has been instrumental to our region's economic growth. We are interested in pursuing stronger ties through direct dialogue with Ankara on any and all issues of common interest. Any problems or disagreements should be solved through diplomacy and dialogue, not threats of military force.

We condemn the killing of innocent people and we do not believe that violence ever solves problems. The KRG has supported U.S. mediation efforts with Iraq and Turkey about the PKK, and has encouraged efforts toward a comprehensive political solution to the problem of the PKK, which cannot be solved solely through military means.

The KRG does not and will not support the de-stabilization of Turkey or any of our neighbors. We respect and practice the principle of noninterference in the affairs of others, and expect the same in return. In that context, the Iranian intimidation and shelling of villages and towns along our eastern border must also stop. As with Turkey, we seek no confrontation with Iran. Since 1991, we have proven to Turkey, Iran and all of Iraq's neighbors that the Kurds are a stabilizing factor in Iraq and the Middle East.

The stakes could not be higher for Iraq, and for the peace and prosperity of the Kurdistan Region, which has proven itself the model and gateway for a new Iraq. The Kurds are America's most loyal and trusted allies in pursuit of an independent, democratic and federal Iraq. The current crisis on our borders comes at an especially inopportune and sensitive time with regard to on-going efforts in Iraq toward national reconciliation. This is very much a work in progress, but there is progress.

There is an emerging consensus among Iraqi politicians about federalism, which is Iraq's constitutionally mandated form of government. KRG President Masoud Barzani has called for a conference in Erbil among Iraq's political leaders to discuss how to implement a federal system of governance in our country. The diversity of Iraqi society is a source of strength, not division. Federalism has worked around the world – in the United States, the United Arab Emirates, and in many other countries. It should be seen as the solution, rather than the problem, for the deep governance challenges in Iraq. Federalism is not "partition," as some have misrepresented it. We appreciate those in the U.S. Senate who understand and have recognized the reality of a federal Iraq through an amendment to the U.S. Defense Authorization bill.

Some neighboring countries see the shadow of independence falling across all that we do in the Kurdistan Region. When the Iraqi constitution was drafted four years ago, the Kurdistan Region's leadership made a firm decision to remain part of Iraq. Despite the national tragedy that has befallen much of the rest of Iraq, we remain committed to that course of action today. We believe today that our future is best secured by becoming an active participant in a federal, democratic and secular Iraq.

Falah Mustafa Bakir is the Head of the Department of Foreign Relations, with Ministerial rank, in the Kurdistan Regional Government of Iraq.

This article can be found at:

http://newsweek.washingtonpost.com/postglobal/needtoknow/2007/10/kurds_armenians_win_we_pay_the.html

This article can also be found at: www.krg.org

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Letter From Erbil

From: Letter From Erbil [LetterFromErbil@kurdistantoday.net]

Sent: Thursday, October 18, 2007 11:13 AM

Subject: KRG statement on decision by Turkish Parliament

KRG statement on decision by Turkish Parliament

October 17, 2007

KRG official statement

The Kurdistan Regional Government of Iraq (KRG) is concerned by the decision of the Turkish Parliament granting a one-year authorisation for the Turkish government to conduct military operations in the Kurdistan Region in Iraq against the Kurdistan Worker's Party (PKK).

We appeal to our friend and neighbour Turkey to refrain from military action in Iraq. The KRG seeks no conflict with Turkey. We do not and will not allow our territory to be used by anyone to attack or undermine Turkey or any of our neighbours. We do not interfere in the internal affairs of Turkey, and we expect the same in return.

The KRG condemns the killing of innocent people in Turkey and does not believe that violence solves any problem. The KRG supports a political process to achieve a comprehensive political solution to the problem of the PKK, which has lasted for 28 years. This problem will not be solved solely through military means. Indeed, a Turkish military attack on the Kurdistan Region of Iraq would make the situation worse, complicating the prospects for a political solution in Turkey and threatening the fragile progress that is being made in Iraq.

The KRG considers good relations with Turkey a top priority. The Turkish people are our friends and neighbours with whom we have much in common. Turkish trade and investment have been instrumental in our region's economic growth. Any problems or disagreements between the KRG and Turkey should be solved through diplomacy and dialogue. The KRG welcomes direct dialogue with Ankara on all issues of common interest or concern, including the PKK. An incursion would be detrimental to all Iraq, to Turkey and the Middle East.

This statement can also be found at: www.krg.org

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Letter From Erbil

From: Letter From Erbil [LetterFromErbil@kurdistantoday.net]
Sent: Thursday, October 18, 2007 6:38 PM
Subject: KRG Head of Foreign Relations speaks at UN General Assembly

KRG Head of Foreign Relations speaks at UN General Assembly

October 16, 2007

New York, US (KRG.org) - Mr Falah Mustafa Bakir, Head of the KRG's Department of Foreign Relations, this week attended the 62nd United Nations General Assembly meetings as part of the Iraq delegation.

Mr Bakir said to the General Assembly's Economic and Financial Committee, "Now is the right time to further involve the UN in Iraq and in particular our Region as the gateway to the rest of Iraq. We are making progress and trying hard, but your help will ensure our survival and prosperity. Together we can implement a sustainable development plan." The minister referred to UN Security Council Resolution 1770, which increased the UN's role in Iraq.

As well as recommending more UN involvement in Iraq through the secure and stable Kurdistan Region, Mr Bakir also told the committee that the KRG is reforming the education system and enacting laws to promote private investment.

In a talk last Thursday to Columbia University's Centre for Middle East Studies, Mr Bakir outlined the KRG's achievements and its challenges. He said, "Our Government apparatus needs to be streamlined. For too long our government has been regarded as a kind of bank – supplying hand-outs to those in need. It is essential that we empower people and equip them with the necessary tools to create their own successes."

The KRG's Head of Foreign Relations told Columbia's students that the KRG was working to improve governance, for example through a UK National School of Government civil service training programme; to strengthen and protect women's rights; and to reform the education sector. He added, "Our policies and reforms will take time to take root and flourish. At times this is frustrating, but when we look to our future we all understand that it is better to take our time to build firm and long lasting foundations."

Mr Bakir's visit coincided with an increased threat of cross border operations by the Turkish military to combat the PKK. Calling the operations the gravest challenge to the Kurdistan Region since the liberation from Saddam Hussein in 2003, he said that the KRG condemns the killing of innocent citizens but that a comprehensive political solution, not military incursion, was the way to solve the problem.

Mr Bakir met B. Lynn Pascoe, UN Under- Secretary-General for Political Affairs; Ibrahim Gambari, UN Under-Secretary-General, Special Advisor to the Secretary General and co-chair of the International Compact for Iraq; and Mr Darko Mocibob, Head of the Iraq Team at the UN.

He also held meetings with Ambassador Zalmay Khalilzad, the US Ambassador to the UN and other officials from the Permanent Missions to the UN of the United Kingdom, France, Republic of China, Russian Federation, Portugal and Italy.

Transcript of Mr Bakir's address to the UN General Assembly's Second Committee

Transcript of Mr Bakir's talk at Columbia University's Middle East Institute

This article can also be found at www.krg.org

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Letter From Erbil

From: Letter From Erbil [LetterFromErbil@kurdistantoday.net]

Sent: Tuesday, October 23, 2007 6:07 PM

Subject: KRG Statement: The continuing crisis between the Government of Turkey and the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK)

Statement from the Presidency of the Kurdistan Region: The continuing crisis between the Government of Turkey and the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) October 23, 2007

The policy of the Presidency, the Government, and the political parties of the Kurdistan Region related to this issue can be summarized as follows:

1. We do not believe in the use of violence as a doctrine and method to achieve political objectives.
2. We do not accept in any way, based on our commitment to the Iraqi constitution, the use of Iraqi territories, including the territories of the Kurdistan Region, as a base to threaten the security of neighboring countries.
3. We call upon the PKK to eliminate violence and armed struggle as a mode of operation. The current problems should be solved through political and diplomatic methods. It is necessary to stop using other methods, which are useless, and we demand that the PKK remain committed to the cease fire and not resort to armed operations.
4. We condemn all terrorist activities from any party because the people of Kurdistan itself are victims of terrorism. We have always struggled for the sake of peace, democracy, development and stability for our people and peoples of the region. We are in fact in a bitter and continued state of struggle against terrorism.

We declare that these principles are the firm policies of the people of Kurdistan, we reiterate that we endeavor to build friendly relations with the people of the region and we share a commitment to good neighborly relations with all.

We have always called for peace and security and we believe that the outstanding problems can be solved only through dialogue and understanding.

This statement can also be found at www.krg.org

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Letter From Erbil

From: Letter From Erbil [LetterFromErbil@kurdistantoday.net]
Sent: Wednesday, October 24, 2007 12:30 PM
Subject: KRG Minister Falah Mustafa Bakir: Kurdistan as a Model for Iraq

Bakir: Kurdistan as a model for Iraq

Interview with the Council on Foreign Relations
 October 22, 2007

Falah Mustafa Bakir, Director of the Foreign Relations Department for the Kurdistan Regional Government in Iraq, says his government favors a political solution to cross-border tensions with Turkey, but so far, Ankara has “only considered a military operation to solve this problem.” He adds that while Kurds “would like to have an independent Kurdish state,” political realities in Iraq have prompted Kurdish officials to embrace a federal government strategy to solving Iraq’s sectarian problems.

Q: Turkey’s parliament has voted on a military plan to allow Turkish soldiers to conduct cross-border raids against Kurdish rebels in northern Iraq. How would the Kurdish government respond to such an act of aggression and, in your view, what’s behind the latest tough talk from Ankara?

FM Bakir: We believe the best way to solve this problem is through political dialogue. We understand Turkey’s concerns and we are against the killing of civilians, but there is no military solution for this problem. It would be in the interests of both Turkey and the KRG [Kurdistan Regional Government] for this question to be addressed politically, and we believe there may now be an opportunity for a political approach.

So far the Turkish government has only considered a military operation to solve this problem. But history and experience have proven that you cannot solve such a problem only through military means. We believe there is a window of opportunity and the door is still open for an alternative to a military solution.

Q: The Kurdistan Worker’s Party (PKK) has been described as a Kurdish separatist group. As far as you can tell, what are the aims of the PKK, and what is your government doing to reign in the separatists?

FM Bakir: In the last few years, the PKK has begun to change its conduct and it now may be ready for a peaceful approach within Turkey. Our understanding is that the PKK may be prepared to join the political process in Turkey, and it is left to the Turkish government to seize this opportunity for a potential political solution to this problem. But as far as we are concerned in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq, we agree on the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of Turkey, and we are not ready for the Iraqi Kurdistan region to be used against Turkey or any of our neighbors. We do not provide support to any group that wants to create problems for Turkey.

Q: The US Congress recently voted to label the Ottoman Turk killing of Armenians in 1915 as genocide. The move has clearly angered Ankara, and could leave the impression that lawmakers in Washington have in some way turned their backs on the KRG. I was wondering what your thoughts were on this.

FM Bakir: We do not want to be part of any friction between Turkey and the United States. We are allies with the United States and we are neighbors with Turkey - we want to enjoy good relations with everyone. We did not want Ankara’s reaction to the House resolution to negatively affect our Region,

which is the only safe part of Iraq. Any military action by Turkey would jeopardize our hard work to cooperate with our Iraqi colleagues to build a more stable and prosperous future for all of the Iraqi people.

Q: Shifting gears a bit, Kurdistan and Turkey have been in the news a bit lately because of growing cross-border tensions. Less heralded, however, are economic ties between your government and the Turkish government. What is the status of these economic partnerships?

FM Bakir: Even before the fall of Saddam's regime, we had encouraged Turkish companies to come and do business in the Iraqi-Kurdistan region. We had limited capacity internally and therefore wanted to reach out to those Turkish companies who have had a good reputation and good performance and invite them to be active in our Region. After the fall of the regime, the main construction projects have been granted to Turkish companies because we believe that both sides can benefit from these kinds of commercial and business activities. These ties are growing, not decreasing, and that is very good news. We want this trend to continue.

Q: What sectors are you seeing the largest growth in?

FM Bakir: Mainly construction - Erbil International Airport, Suleimaniah Airport, bridges, roads, public buildings - to name a few.

Q: You mentioned in your speech to the United Nations this week that Kurdistan has experienced "an historic period of economic growth and expansion." I wonder if you could detail what those expansions are, and define this historic growth?

FM Bakir: If you go back to the history of the Kurdistan Region under the dictatorial regime of Saddam Hussein, the infrastructure was ruined and there was no attention given to the agricultural sector, industrial, or service sectors. It was after the fall of the regime that we got the opportunity to expand and institute economic and investment policies to encourage growth. These policies have provided an opportunity for the public sector, the private sector and people who lived abroad to start small businesses. It's in the housing, tourism, agricultural and construction sectors, and others, that the government is trying to build a stronger economic foundation for our people and for our future. People have started to have hope for the future and are working together for a better future.

Q: You also mentioned during your speech at the United Nations that the Kurdistan Region serves as a model for the rest of Iraq. Could you expand on that?

FM Bakir: Since 1991 we have been free from Saddam Hussein's control. The Kurdistan National Assembly, our regional parliament, opted for a federal solution in 1992 in order to be part of a federal democratic system in Iraq. We wanted to show the rest of the country that, when given the opportunity, we are able to administer our own Region and take care of our own affairs. We have agreed with the rest of the leadership in Iraq to draft a constitution which states that Iraq is a federal state, a democratic state, a state that lives in peace with its own people and its neighbors. Therefore we wanted the stability, security, and economic activities in Kurdistan to be seen as a gateway to the rest of Iraq, so that the rest of Iraq could be doing the same as Kurdistan. We believe that companies established here will move south when the time is right; Kurdistan is a gateway to the rest of the country.

Q: You mention the Iraqi constitution and the federal system of government. Last month the US Senate approved a nonbinding resolution that urged the furthering of this federal government strategy in Iraq. But the legislation has been widely criticized by the Shiite government in Baghdad, Sunni groups and, in fact, the US Embassy. I wonder what your thoughts are on the resolution?

FM Bakir: We were surprised by that reaction to and criticism of the nonbinding resolution. We understand what the resolution was asking for, and it was exactly what is stated in the Iraqi Constitution: the implementation a federal system in Iraq. After trying a strong central government, which has proven a failure, the best solution that we could see that would bring the diverse Iraqi groups together within a unified country is a federal system of governance. We see federalism as a solution and not a problem. Federalism means uniting Iraq and not partitioning Iraq. It's unfortunate that people have misrepresented federalism as a problem.

The president of the Kurdistan region, Masoud Barzani, has called for a conference for all the major Iraqi political parties and groups to come to Kurdistan and discuss the most appropriate means of putting a federal system in place that will have the best chance to bring political stability and progress to Iraq. Again, this is an example of the Kurdistan Regional Government acting proactively and constructively to find the best solutions to the problems facing Iraq.

Q: Now there are also those, however, who suggest that Kurdistan's favoring of this system is tantamount to favoring separatism. That seems to be the concern that Turkey has. What are your thoughts on that characterization of support for this strategy?

FM Bakir: It's unfortunate, because we have contributed so positively to the political progress in Iraq and have given the best that we can. We have done our best in serving the Iraqi people. But unfortunately, still that kind of accusation, and that kind of fear, remains.

We have opted voluntarily to be part of a federal democratic system in Iraq. So long as Iraq continues to be committed to the constitution, we will remain part of Iraq. We know very well that it is in our interest to be part of this country, and we have decided voluntarily to remain so. We have contributed so much to Iraq, and expect that the rest of Iraq can return that kind of goodwill and gesture from the KRG, so that we build together a federal and democratic system that can give us a situation that allows for power sharing and wealth sharing within the same country, which is for all Iraqis. Basically, the foreign, defense and monetary policies would be handled by the federal government in Baghdad, and the rest would be left to the region.

Q: The oil and gas law passed by the parliament of Kurdistan has been questioned by many, including the Iraqi oil minister. I wonder if you could talk on the subject of legality, and how the oil and gas law, as passed, benefits not just your Region but Iraq as a whole.

FM Bakir: Whatever we have done comes within the constitutional rights that our Region enjoys. And more importantly, we talk about revenue sharing. Whatever we do, only 17 percent will come to the KRG area, while the rest, which is 83 percent, will go to the federal government in Baghdad. So we are committed to our constitutional rights, we are committed to the constitution. We are committed to revenue sharing. But our people have high expectations - they need services and better opportunities.

We cannot put our future on hold while the rest of the country stabilizes. Therefore we have an opportunity: Kurdistan can serve as the gateway for investors to come [through] and be a launching pad or a stepping-stone toward the rest of the country.

Q: As an Iraqi from the Kurdish region of Erbil, do you believe the Kurdish region deserves its own independent state?

FM Bakir: Every Kurd would like to have an independent Kurdish state. We are the largest nation in the world without a state. But we understand the difficulties. We understand the circumstances and the

neighborhood we live in, and therefore there is a difference between what one wishes to achieve and what can be achieved.

The leadership of the Kurdistan Region is wise enough and there is enough political maturity in the Region for them to make calculations that take into consideration all the factors. Therefore they have opted for a federal, democratic, pluralistic system to be part of Iraq because they know what's in the interests of the people. During the elections, there was a referendum - 97.5 percent of the people voted for an independent state, but still the political leadership tried its best to manage the expectations of the people and explain to the people why it's in the interests of the KRG to be part of Iraq and to work within Iraq.

This interview can be found at: <http://www.cfr.org/publication/14568/>

This interview can also be found at: www.krg.org

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Letter From Erbil

From: Letter From Erbil [LetterFromErbil@kurdistantoday.net]
Sent: Monday, October 29, 2007 2:58 PM
Subject: KRG Prime Minister Nechirvan Barzani welcomes 300 companies to Kurdistan's largest international trade fair

PM welcomes 300 companies to Kurdistan's largest international trade fair October 29, 2007

Erbil, Kurdistan-Iraq (KRG.org) - Prime Minister Nechirvan Barzani today opened the 3rd International Trade Fair in Erbil, capital of the Kurdistan Region. This year's fair was the largest in Kurdistan since 1991, attracting 300 companies from 22 countries looking for private sector economic cooperation.

Emphasising that the private sector was the engine of sustainable growth, the Prime Minister said, "We place great importance on partnership and cooperation between government and the private sector to encourage economic and social development."

Mr Barzani said, "Economic and business ties are helpful in building good international relations". He stressed that the Kurdistan Region desired good relations with all its neighbours, especially Turkey.

Regarding the current tensions, the Prime Minister said, "We believe that there now exists a good opportunity for dialogue and a peaceful solution. This is an open door for negotiation and understanding. We are for peace, and peace is in the interest of all concerned".

The Erbil International Fair has become a fixture in the economic calendar of the Region. Each year it attracts many international companies interested in taking advantage of the favourable economic climate fostered by the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG). Companies from the construction, communications, banking, electricity and automobile sectors are taking part in this year's fair.

See below for Prime Minister Nechirvan Barzani's speech at the opening of the 3rd Annual International Trade Fair in Erbil.

Speech by KRG Prime Minister Nechirvan Barzani Erbil Exhibition Centre October 29, 2007

Distinguished guests, good morning. I am pleased and honoured to welcome you here and privileged to participate with you in the 3rd International Trade Fair in the capital city of Erbil.

I would like to thank the organisers of this outstanding commercial event, especially the Erbil International Fair and the IFP Group. I commend your serious effort and congratulate you on the opening of this fair.

We are pleased to see the participation of 300 companies from 22 countries from Europe, the Far East and neighbouring countries. These companies cover a wide variety of sectors, especially construction, communications, banking, electricity, automobile and trade. Since 1991, this is the largest gathering of international companies at a trade fair in our Region. I'd like to thank you for coming to Erbil, the capital. We are pleased and privileged to have you here. Thank you all for coming.

The KRG views your important participation with respect. When you come here, you see for yourself the situation in the Region. You assess the security situation and the investment environment, the domestic markets and economic opportunities.

We believe that your participation here will give you an opportunity to learn of the economic efforts being made by the KRG. We in the KRG are trying to formulate sound economic policies and provide broad business opportunities.

Our goal is that together, through public-private partnership, we can reconstruct the Region. Here I reiterate our vision that we see the private sector as the engine of our Region's, and Iraq's, economy.

We place a great deal of importance on partnership and cooperation between government and the private sector to encourage economic and social development.

We believe that economic ties provide a strong basis for consolidating bilateral relations. This fair plays an outstanding role in paving the way to achieve this objective and secure economic growth.

We say with confidence, that the Kurdistan Region is open for business and as a gateway to all of Iraq. The Kurdistan Region provides a novel opportunity for foreign investment. We have benefited from our past experience and believe we can benefit yet more from the successful experiences of countries around the world.

Since the Iraq liberation and the reconstruction of the Iraqi state, the Kurdistan Region, as a legitimate entity, has tried seriously to implement a broad reconstruction programme.

We are working closely with the federal government in Baghdad to benefit from the principles of a federal system. We want to take serious steps and achieve progress so that our efforts benefit not only the people of the Kurdistan Region but those of all Iraq as well.

There is a great opportunity to make Iraq a democratic, federal, pluralistic country where people live in peace and prosperity. We have stated our commitment to this federal system and are a key factor to achieving progress in Iraq. We are an effective and serious partner in the political process in Baghdad.

We in the KRG feel responsible towards our people and those of the whole country. We are proud that we have been able to take steps to put aside our political differences and work on a unified program for a bright future for all of Iraq.

KRG policies fully support both the local and international private sector, we encourage and promote foreign investment for the mutual benefit of all. Apart from providing us with specialist skills and capabilities, we gain an understanding of standard management techniques and business practices around the world.

It is the KRG's duty to provide a safe and secure environment so commercial activity can flourish. We are determined to continue to provide this.

In addition to the establishment of the Investment Board and the passage of the Investment Law, the KRG is ready to provide full assistance for all serious investors interested in the Kurdistan Region.

We know that the business community places high importance on legal guarantees for the protection of their capital and projects.

Understanding this, the KRG has worked seriously on our legal and judicial system. We have secured an independent judicial system that works in accordance with the rule of law and without outside interference.

Apart from this effort, we have passed an Oil and Gas Law in the Kurdistan Region which conforms to the Iraq constitution and serves the interests of the Kurdistan Region and all Iraq. This was a sound decision for the economy throughout the country.

I've sighted these steps to assure you of the seriousness of the KRG to secure an environment that encourages genuine economic growth. We have tried to encourage Iraqi businessmen outside and inside the country, as well as other investors from surrounding countries, to come and invest in the Kurdistan Region.

We have a clear policy to live in peace with ourselves and with our neighbours. We want good relations with all our neighbours. We have always believed that economic and business ties are a helpful factor in building good international relations. We have made a serious effort in this regard.

As you are aware, there is currently a great deal of tension on the border between Iraq and Turkey because of Turkey's struggle with the PKK. There is a fear that this dispute will spill over into the Kurdistan Region.

We want good neighbourly relations and it is right that these countries expect from us that our land is not used against them.

Therefore, we reiterate that we want good relations with our neighbouring countries, especially Turkey, and will prevent the territories of the Iraqi Kurdistan Region from being used against Turkey.

We believe that peaceful solutions and mutual understanding are the way to solve problems.

I regard the recent high level of violence inside Turkey as unusual. Therefore we demand that the PKK considers the situation.

We respect our neighbourly relations. We do not interfere in the internal relations of Turkey, we are not a threat to that country, and we will not allow our territories to be used to carry out attacks against Turkey.

I would like to reiterate that a peaceful and political solution is the best way to stop the violence and bloodshed. The experience of past years has proven that this problem cannot be solved through military means and that the problem still exists.

We believe that there now exists a good opportunity for dialogue and a peaceful solution.

We consider this a positive development. This is an open door for negotiation and understanding. We are for peace, and peace is in the interest of all concerned.

We desire continued peace and security in order to implement our economic reforms and service projects and thereby improve the living standards of our people.

Finally, I hope that your participation in this fair gives you a chance to familiarise yourself with the Kurdistan Region.

We in the KRG will continue to work to overcome any obstacle that blocks our economic progress.

We will continue to encourage investment in the Region in order to launch a great Iraqi market in the future. We are working to build our democratic institutions, trying to secure a decent life for our people, put in order a good working system, and benefit from international expertise.

I am very pleased to see you today; I thank you for your participation. I especially thank the representative of Prime Minister Maliki and the delegation from Baghdad for being with us here today. I welcome them. It is a sign that we are on the right track to rebuilding our country. We will continue in efforts to attract investment to the Kurdistan Region. I wish you success and I hope that this relationship will prove to be mutually beneficial.

Thank you again, you are all most welcome.

These items can also be found at: www.krg.org

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Letter From Erbil

From: Letter From Erbil [LetterFromErbil@kurdistantoday.net]
Sent: Monday, October 29, 2007 3:30 PM
Subject: President Masoud Barzani calls for peaceful initiative on PKK

President Masoud Barzani calls for peaceful initiative on PKK October 26, 2007

Erbil, Kurdistan Region-Iraq (KRG.org) – In an interview yesterday with CBS News, President of the Kurdistan Region Masoud Barzani said that military means would not solve Turkey's problem with the PKK and called for a peaceful solution.

Mr. Barzani praised the Turkish Prime Minister's call to the PKK to cease military operations saying, "A few days ago, Tayyip Erdogan told the PKK to lay down their arms and come back to the Turkish Parliament to solve their problems. I think that's a wise idea."

In the interview the President said that the KRG would support peaceful initiatives proposed by Turkey and play an active role to pressure the PKK to participate in any such initiatives.

The President added that the KRG wanted to maintain its good relations with Turkey, a key trading partner.

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Letter From Erbil

From: Letter From Erbil [LetterFromErbil@kurdistantoday.net]
Sent: Tuesday, October 30, 2007 10:20 AM
Subject: Statement: PUK and KDP leadership spare no efforts for right solution

Statement: PUK and KDP leadership spare no efforts for right solution October 29, 2007

Erbil, Kurdistan – Iraq (KRG.org) – Mr Masoud Barzani, the President of the Kurdistan Region, today chaired a joint meeting of the political bureaux of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) and the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), the two major parties in the Kurdistan Region's coalition government.

The meeting addressed the Iraqi political process and the current situation in the Kurdistan Region. It focused on the Kurdistan Regional Government's (KRG) responsibilities and considered the democratic process in Iraq and the Kurdistan Region in terms of diplomatic, political, economic, and good neighbourly relations. The discussions addressed the current problems between the Republic of Turkey and the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK). They also assessed Turkey's position, policies and conditions towards Iraq.

The joint political bureaux arrived at the following decisions issued in their signed joint statement:

1. The Kurdistan Region has not been a part of Turkey's internal political and military problems in the past, and is not so today. The PKK has illegally stationed itself in the border areas between Iraq and Turkey without any legal license or political agreement with the Iraqi Government, the KRG or any political parties. From those border areas the PKK has created various problems for us.
2. We are ready, together with the Iraqi Federal Government and the US Government, which in accordance with UN Security Council resolutions has a responsibility to protect Iraq, to adopt a correct approach to protect the borders and prevent any use of these areas for activities against our neighbours.
3. We restate that after the Kurdish uprising of 1991, the election of the Kurdistan National Assembly and the formation of the KRG in 1992, the KRG and its political parties have been, and still are, a factor for peace and stability in the region. We do not support the PKK, or allow any assistance to be provided to them. We hope that all parties, especially the United States, the Iraqi Government, our neighbours and all friendly countries who support the people of Iraq and the Kurdistan Region, will spare no effort at this difficult time to find appropriate solutions to diffuse the current tense situation at our borders. The KRG stands ready to fulfil its responsibilities, as part of federal Iraq, to contribute positively in this process. We are committed to continuing our political and diplomatic efforts to solve this problem. We desire the success of these legal, diplomatic, political and reform efforts and endeavours.

This statement can also be found at: www.krg.org

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Letter From Erbil

From: Letter From Erbil [LetterFromErbil@kurdistantoday.net]

Sent: Tuesday, October 30, 2007 5:48 PM

Subject: KRG Head of Foreign Relations Falah Mustafa Bakir Stresses Diplomacy in US Visit

KRG's head of foreign relations stresses peace and reconciliation in US visit

October 27, 2007

Washington, DC (KRG.org) – Falah Mustafa Bakir, Head of the Kurdistan Regional Government's (KRG) Department of Foreign Relations, during a two-week visit to the US reaffirmed the KRG's commitment to joining in regional security efforts whenever possible, with the goal of finding sustainable, political and peaceful solutions. He also called upon the United Nations to increase its presence and take a more active role in the development of the region.

At meetings in New York City and Washington DC, Minister Bakir reinforced the shared goals of the US and Kurdistan Region in Iraq by stressing the creative and constructive role in national reconciliation being played by the KRG.

"It is always rewarding to spend time with our friends and supporters in the US," Minister Bakir said. "In my meetings I discussed current issues, our hopes and visions for the future, and how our common commitment to democracy, human rights, free commerce and stability can best be achieved. I return to the Kurdistan Region heartened by the strength of support I encountered in the US."

In Washington, Minister Bakir held advanced discussions with senior US government officials as well as members of the diplomatic, political and military communities, as part of the Kurdistan Region's ongoing efforts to enhance the foundations of its fledgling democracy and ensure its security and economic stability. Minister Bakir welcomed guidance from US officials on how the KRG can continue to build a regional and strategic dialogue among all members of Iraqi society. The visit also gave the Minister the opportunity to thank those who initiated and supported the recently-passed congressional resolution that gave overwhelming US backing to Iraq's federalist system of government as an example of a political solution enshrined in Iraq's constitution.

In New York, Minister Bakir provided an update on the situation in the Kurdistan Region to UN Undersecretary-General for Political Affairs Lynn Pascoe and his assistants, and called for a more active UN role in the region. Undersecretary-General Pascoe said that he was very pleased with the progress achieved in the Kurdistan Region and praised the role of the KRG leadership in the Iraqi political process.

Minister Bakir stated that the KRG leadership, along with the Iraqi leadership, is committed to rebuilding the country's economy, infrastructure and institutions. He urged UN members and industrialised nations to help devise bolder, more innovative solutions to bring developing nations and regions out of the external debt trap. "My visit was constructive and encouraging," Minister Bakir said. "We all agreed that the Kurdistan Region of Iraq is part of the solution and a model for the rest of the country."

For more information contact Tom Squitieri, Director for Public Affairs, KRG US Representation: +1 202 637 2496

This article can also be found at: www.krg.org

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Letter From Erbil

From: Letter From Erbil [LetterFromErbil@kurdistantoday.net]
Sent: Thursday, November 01, 2007 6:54 PM
Subject: Statement by KRG Prime Minister Nechirvan Barzani

PM's statement on G8 foreign ministers' meeting Erbil, 2 November 2007

Statement by KRG Prime Minister Nechirvan Barzani

The Kurdistan Regional Government of Iraq (KRG) welcomes the Istanbul meetings of the Foreign Ministers of the G8, the Permanent 5, the neighbouring countries, the Arab League, and the UN Secretary General. We hope that this distinguished group of diplomats and interested parties will help to find a resolution to the current tensions which exist along the Iraqi-Turkish border.

The KRG condemns in the strongest terms the recent acts of violence committed by the PKK inside Turkey. There can be no excuse whatsoever for these actions which undermine peace and stability in the entire region and which are not in the interest of anyone involved. There is no place in the modern civilised world for this type of violence.

The KRG wants peaceful and cooperative relations with Turkey. We have many strong ties to Turkey, both economic and cultural, and we hope to see these ties grow in the future. People on both sides of the border have come to benefit from our trade relations and many Turkish firms are welcome participants in the economic life of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq. We want to extend the hand of friendship to the people of Turkey and cooperate toward a more stable and prosperous future for all our peoples.

We understand Turkey's frustration with the actions of the PKK and we share the grief and sadness over the loss of life that has taken place. We believe that the only solution to this long-running problem is to be found in negotiations and compromise, not further violence.

We insist that the PKK cease all violence against the Turkish military and make clear their willingness to lay down their arms and meet at the negotiating table. We are doing all we can to secure the release of all hostages and to defuse tensions in the area.

The KRG will in no way allow its soil to be used for violence or interference in the affairs of our neighbours and we are taking steps to guarantee that this does not happen.

Our commitment to peace and good relations with our neighbors is unshakeable – we have already seen too much violence and too much suffering in our history. This problem has existed in various forms for over 20 years – we are fearful that it will gain more life and more energy if violence is allowed to prevail.

We would like our friends in the region and elsewhere to know that we are ready – at any time, in any place, and with any group – to sit down and find a negotiated solution to the current impasse. For us, there is no alternative to dialogue and discussion. We believe there is an opportunity for a political solution and we urge the distinguished group of Foreign Ministers to work with us to find that solution.

The people of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq want only peace and stability so that we can continue our progress toward greater economic and political development. We are willingly a part of Iraq, and we

intend to remain so. The people of Turkey should not fear our progress along the road toward freedom and prosperity. We want to be a safe and responsible neighbour to Turkey. We threaten no one, not today, or in the future.

This statement can also be found at: www.krg.org

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Letter From Erbil

From: Letter From Erbil [LetterFromErbil@kurdistantoday.net]
Sent: Monday, November 05, 2007 9:08 AM
Subject: Statement by KRG Prime Minister Nechirvan Barzani on release of 8 Turkish soldiers by PKK

PM's statement: KRG welcomes PKK's release of 8 Turkish soldiers
Erbil, 4 November 2007

Statement by KRG Prime Minister Nechirvan Barzani

The Kurdistan Regional Government welcomes the release today of the eight Turkish soldiers held by the PKK since late October. This is a positive and encouraging beginning which will help to lessen tensions between Iraq and Turkey.

We hope that this tangible result will pave the way for greater cooperation on issues related to border security between our two countries and will help ease pressures for a military solution.

The release of the soldiers is an important step in reducing tensions, and a hopeful symbol of improved relations between the Kurdistan Region of Iraq and Turkey.

The KRG is grateful for the efforts of all in Ankara, Baghdad and Erbil who helped bring about this release, and is pleased that the captive soldiers have been returned to Turkey safely to be reunited with their families.

We reiterate our condemnation of the PKK's recent violent actions in Turkey. Recognising that a window of opportunity exists, we call upon the PKK to institute an unconditional ceasefire, lay down its arms, and commit itself to the political process. We hope that this will encourage Turkey to find a peaceful solution to the issue.

We desire nothing more than the resumption of normal, friendly relations with Turkey and look forward to additional progress in easing tensions in the coming days. The KRG, in cooperation with the federal government in Baghdad and the United States, is dedicated to playing a constructive part in the peaceful resolution of the current situation.

This statement can also be found at: www.krg.org

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Letter From Erbil

From: Letter From Erbil [LetterFromErbil@kurdistantoday.net]
Sent: Monday, November 05, 2007 11:32 AM
Subject: KRG Prime Minister Nechirvan Barzani in The Washington Post

Kurdistan's Hope for Talks

By Nechirvan Barzani

The Washington Post

Monday, November 5, 2007; Page A19

When President Bush and Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan meet today to discuss ongoing conflict between the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) and Turkey, we in the Kurdistan Regional Government of Iraq (KRG) will be listening with hope. We welcome this meeting. The only solution to this decades-old problem lies in diplomacy.

Let me be clear: The KRG is, and will remain, fully prepared to find a long-term solution to this problem. To this end, we propose talks among Ankara, Baghdad, Erbil and Washington. This is a transnational issue, complicated by ethnic ties, and no party can find a solution on its own. We will sit down at any time with anyone who seeks a negotiated, diplomatic resolution.

We must discard the rhetoric of violence and recognize that a military response to the current crisis would be a disaster for everyone except the PKK. We in the Kurdistan region of Iraq would be slowed on our path to peace, democracy and prosperity; the Turkish army would become bogged down in a bloody and unproductive struggle against the PKK outside its borders; the United States and Western allies would become estranged from a vital NATO ally; and the economies and peoples of the region -- particularly Turkey, Syria, Iran and Iraq -- would suffer.

We have tried to explain to our Turkish friends that we want only peace and cooperation with them. Our region depends heavily on investment and trade with Turkey. The great majority of foreign businesses operating here are Turkish, nearly all of our construction is done by Turkish contractors, we receive much of our electricity from Turkey and well over 75 percent of our imports arrive via Turkey. Why would we provoke Turkey into a military action that would severely damage our economy?

The history of this conflicted part of the world carries a message: Problems such as the PKK cannot be solved through military means. For decades the government of Saddam Hussein tried to liquidate the Kurdish people by violence, at a tremendous price for both sides. We ourselves fought against the PKK in the late 1990s with help from the Turkish military, and 10 years later we again find ourselves at a crisis point. The mountains inside our region and in Turkey have protected the PKK for decades, and there is little reason to believe that new military actions would be any more successful than past attempts. Problems for which military solutions are sought here seem to have a way of never getting resolved.

We have condemned and will continue to condemn the PKK for its unwarranted attacks in Turkey. We insist that its members lay down their arms immediately. We do not allow them to operate freely, contrary to what some have suggested. Turkey, with its substantial military capability, has not been able to eradicate the PKK within its own borders, yet some Turks inexplicably expect us to be successful with far fewer capabilities and resources.

Just as we ask the Turks to seek a peaceful resolution, so must the PKK abandon its failed strategy of

armed conflict. Diplomacy and dialogue must be given a chance. With time, patience and stability, we believe that peaceful change can occur. Just 10 years ago the PLO and the IRA were considered terrorist organizations. Today they have begun a process of transformation and are working within the political arena. Can such a transformation take place within the PKK? We cannot be certain. But we do know that military action will only radicalize the situation further, and violence will surely breed more violence.

We want peace along our border with Turkey. We want to cooperate on economic, social and cultural issues. We want to be a good neighbor and to exercise our responsibilities as good neighbors. Our successful efforts in cooperation with Ankara and Baghdad to secure the release of Turkish soldiers demonstrate our sincere desire to find peaceful solutions to the problem. We will continue taking concrete steps to improve the security environment at the border. But the Turkish government needs to overcome its refusal to talk to us as neighbors.

The Kurdistan region is the only part of Iraq where peace and development have prospered since the liberation of 2003, and we are the constitutionally recognized regional government in the area. We have come a long way both economically and politically. But much more work remains. We have chosen to become part of a federal Iraq and will uphold that commitment. We threaten no one as we move toward greater development. We hope that we can extend the hand of friendship to Turkey and work together to find solutions to this crisis that will lead to long-term stability and peaceful relations.

The writer is prime minister of the Kurdistan Regional Government of Iraq.

This op-ed can be found at: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/11/04/AR2007110401225.html>

This op-ed can also found at: www.krg.org

Note: Barbour Griffith & Rogers, LLC, has filed registration statements under the Foreign Agents Registration Act with regard to its representation and dissemination of information on behalf of the Kurdistan Regional Government of Iraq. Additional information is on file with the Foreign Agents Registration Unit of the Department of Justice in Washington, DC.

Letter From Erbil

From: Letter From Erbil [LetterFromErbil@kurdistantoday.net]
Sent: Wednesday, November 07, 2007 10:33 AM
Subject: UK Defence Secretary on first visit to Kurdistan Region of Iraq

UK Defence Secretary on first visit praises Kurdistan's peace and development November 1, 2007

Erbil, Kurdistan-Iraq (KRG.org) – Des Browne, the UK Secretary of State for Defence, today made his first visit to the Kurdistan Region in Iraq. Mr Browne had wide ranging discussions with Mr Masoud Barzani, President of the Kurdistan Region, and Prime Minister Nechirvan Barzani. These discussions focused on the political situation in Iraq and the Kurdistan Region, Kurdistan's model of development, the Kurdistan Regional Government's (KRG) excellent contribution to stability and order in Iraq, and the current situation between Turkey and the PKK.

In a joint press conference Mr Browne said, "I have come here to celebrate freedom with our friends, who are making the most of their situation. The Kurdistan Region shows what can be achieved when people cooperate and work together. This is a very strong example for the rest of Iraq. With better security, the rest of Iraq can follow this model."

President Barzani praised Mr Browne's visit, saying it came at an opportune time. He thanked the UK for its role in the liberation of Iraq. Regarding the current tension between Turkey and the PKK, the President called for brotherhood between Turks and Kurds. He said, "Military action to solve the current tensions between Turkey and the PKK will benefit no one. We believe that only dialogue can secure a long lasting solution." President Barzani stressed that the KRG is ready to be part of a solution.

In an earlier meeting between Mr Browne and Prime Minister Nechirvan Barzani, the Prime Minister thanked the British leadership and people for the important role they have played in Iraq since 2003. Prime Minister Barzani emphasised that Turkey was an important trading partner and that the KRG was ready to do whatever it could to diffuse tensions. He said that only through dialogue and communication could a permanent peace be found.

Mr Browne welcomed the KRG's commitment to dealing the issue, saying that he believed the KRG is dedicated to finding a peaceful solution to the problem. He echoed comments from the Kurdistan Region's leadership and said, "Military action to solve the problem of the PKK is in no one's interest, dialogue is the way forward." He believed that the UK could contribute to collective efforts to prevent the situation from escalating.

The UK's Defence Secretary went to Baghdad yesterday and had talks with Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri Al Maliki. In their meeting they also agreed on a peaceful approach, he said.

This article can also be found at: www.krg.org

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Letter From Erbil

From: Letter From Erbil [LetterFromErbil@kurdistantoday.net]

Sent: Wednesday, November 21, 2007 12:00 PM

Subject: Why American troops belong in Kurdistan

Why American troops belong in Kurdistan

By Lionel Beehner

USA Today

Opinion Editorial

November 21, 2007

ZAKHO, Iraq — To shuttle between Turkey and Iraqi Kurdistan as an American is to feel both liked and loathed: Liked because you are crossing a border separating the two most pro-American people in the Muslim world, and loathed because the United States hasn't done enough to defuse the tension between the two sides. Should war erupt, Washington could come to regret its hands-off approach.

Let us be clear: A conflict on Iraq's northern front would be disastrous for the United States, as it could destabilize the one region in the country with any modicum of stability. Moreover, Turkey would become the first outside power to pick apart at the carcass Iraq has become. Good chances Iran would be next.

The cross-border tension stems from the presence on Iraqi Kurdish soil of Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) forces, who have killed dozens of Turkish soldiers in recent weeks, and the unwillingness of the regional government to uproot them.

The PKK is a fringe group of Kurdish guerrillas who have waged a decades-long campaign for greater independence. It is hunkered down along the border between Turkey and Iraq. Most of the region's Kurds condemn the group's violent tactics.

The U.S. position

President Bush might be confused by the unusual predicament of being caught between two U.S. allies. Fearful of angering either side, he prefers to simply call the PKK terrorists, share more intelligence with Turkey and hope the problem will go away. Trouble is, it won't, not without outside (read: American) support. To paraphrase what Qubad Talabani, Kurdistan's representative to the United States, recently told the Chicago Tribune: It takes three to tango.

Yet the president is reluctant to shift troops from the rest of Iraq. My question is: Why not? Kurdistan is the one place in Iraq where U.S. troops would be greeted with flowers and sweets. When I told a Kurdish barber in the border town of Zakho that I was from New York, he practically hugged me. Plus, there is talk of "redeploying" an over-the-horizon U.S. force in Kurdistan anyway, once things in Baghdad settle down. Why not move troops in sooner, as some prominent foreign policy thinkers, including Richard Holbrooke, have advocated? The dual presence of U.S. and Kurdish peshmerga forces might ward off an invasion by Turkey and help the Kurdish government uproot the PKK.

Sure, it would be a stalemate solution, but that appears to be what both sides want. PKK leaders have hinted they are interested in a truce. They even released eight Turkish soldiers taken hostage as a goodwill gesture. And the Turks appear gun-shy, not only for fear of jeopardizing U.S.-Turkish relations (which aren't that good anyway) or scotching their chances of European Union accession (ditto), but also

of failing to knock out the PKK. The jagged peaks of the Qandil Mountains are not exactly the beaches of Normandy. Previous attempts by Turkey to root out the PKK rebels there have failed.

The Kirkuk challenge

Contrary to the wishes of Washington, cross-border tensions are not likely to de-escalate anytime soon, especially with a referendum approaching on the future status of Kirkuk, an oil-rich city many Kurds affectionately call "their Jerusalem." Turks fear a Kurdish-controlled Kirkuk could be the spark that sets in motion an irreversible course toward greater independence. If Kirkuk fell to the Kurds, U.S. troops up north could help keep the peace.

Of course, the argument against moving U.S. soldiers to Kurdistan is that they're needed elsewhere — not to mention political pressure at home for a drawdown of some sort. But U.S. troops based here would literally be on safer ground, not engaged in combat missions. The move would also signal a U.S. commitment to solidifying Kurdish democratic achievements, yet short of offering nationhood.

But why should Americans care about Kurdistan? Because without peace there, our experiment with democracy-promotion in the Middle East is a bust. Likewise, without U.S. support, whether moral or military, Iraqi Kurdistan is lost. It is surrounded by nations hostile to the idea of greater independence and fearful that their own Kurdish minorities will rise up.

Kurdistan is a safe, moderate and investment-friendly place with democratic aspirations in the heart of the Middle East: Wasn't that the aim of the Iraq war in the first place? If so, then it's worth putting U.S. troops there. With Turkey breathing down the Kurds' necks, better sooner rather than later.

Lionel Beehner is a freelance writer based in New York and former staff writer for the Council on Foreign Relations.

This op-ed can also be found at: <http://blogs.usatoday.com/oped/2007/11/why-american-tr.html>

Note: Barbour Griffith & Rogers, LLC, has filed registration statements under the Foreign Agents Registration Act with regard to its representation and dissemination of information on behalf of the Kurdistan Regional Government of Iraq. Additional information is on file with the Foreign Agents Registration Unit of the Department of Justice in Washington, DC.

Letter From Erbil

From: Letter From Erbil [LetterFromErbil@kurdistantoday.net]
Sent: Monday, November 26, 2007 2:22 PM
Subject: KRG Natural Resources Minister Dr. Ashti Hawrami Media Availability at the National Press Club:
Tuesday, November 27, at 8:30 AM

NEWS ADVISORY

26 November 2007

THE KURDISTAN REGION'S NATURAL RESOURCES MINISTER ANNOUNCES NEXT STAGE OF DEVELOPMENTS

Dr. Ashti Hawrami to provide updates on investment opportunities and be available for media questions

Washington, D.C. -- Dr. Ashti Hawrami, the Minister of Natural Resources for the Kurdistan Regional Government, will announce news on exploration contracts in Iraqi Kurdistan and provide updates on meeting key timetables in Iraq during a morning press event on Tuesday, November 27, 2007, at the National Press Club.

The press availability begins at 8:30 a.m. in the Zenger Room on the Club's main floor.

Dr. Hawarami is mid-way through a visit to the United States. After attending a week of key meetings in Washington, Dr. Hawarami will fly to Texas for further meetings and business development. To date, more than 20 foreign oil companies have sought investments in Iraqi Kurdistan.

Following his remarks, Dr. Hawarami will be available to answer media questions.

Dr. Hawrami has served as Kurdistan Regional Government's Minister of Natural Resources since May of 2006. He is considered one of the leading experts in oil development. During the last 18 months he has focused on the development of the Federal and Regional Oil and Gas Laws, and the Revenue Sharing Law, and set-up a modern and transparent investment framework and model contract to attract experienced oil companies to work and invest in Iraqi Kurdistan.

Prior to becoming minister, Dr. Hawrami spent 20 years as partner and lead manager with major international petroleum and consultancy companies and has specialized in the conduct of integrated field management studies, large scale field development planning and asset optimization under various investment and fiscal regimes in various oil producing provinces around the world.

He launched his career with Iraqi National Oil Company (INOC) as a well site petroleum engineer working for a period of three years, followed by several years of international industry experience with the British National Oil Corporation (BNOC) at the early stages of the North Sea developments.

Dr. Hawrami earned a BSc degree in Petroleum Engineering, at Baghdad University in 1971 and a PhD in Petroleum Reservoir Engineering from Strathclyde University (Scotland) in 1978.

Qubad J. Talabany
Representative to the U.S.
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12/10/2007

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Letter From Erbil

From: Letter From Erbil [LetterFromErbil@kurdistantoday.net]

Sent: Thursday, November 29, 2007 5:29 PM

Subject: Statement by KRG Prime Minister Nechirvan Barzani: Baghdad must implement Article 140

PM's statement at reopening of UN office: Baghdad must implement Article 140

November 28, 2007

Speech by KRG Prime Minister Nechirvan Barzani
UN Office, Erbil, 28 November 2007

Dear distinguished guests, good morning to you all.

I am pleased and privileged to attend the official opening ceremony of your office, which is a sign of the continuing participation of the UN and the expansion of its role in Iraq.

I warmly welcome Ambassador Stefan de Mistura, the UN Secretary General's Special Envoy to Iraq. On this occasion I congratulate him on assuming his new post. In 1991 during the mass exodus you helped us. I thank you for your contribution at that time.

The KRG welcomes UN resolution 1770 which expands the role and participation of the UN in Iraq.

The Kurdistan Region desires a strong relationship with the UN with the aim of finding appropriate and long term solutions for the problems we face.

The people of the Kurdistan Region are thankful for the assistance of the UN agencies in the past and we do not forget the humanitarian assistance that you provided.

From then until now there have been many changes. The tone of our relationship and our methods of working together have also changed.

We are pleased that now Iraq, as the host country, and the KRG as part of Iraq, have established a new relationship with the UN on the basis of equal partnership. Now the UN and the KRG work together to raise the living standards of the people and support government programmes.

We are pleased with continued UN offer of technical assistance and benefit from its rich experience and commitment to peace.

The presence of the UN means that the world cares about this region and that it will not abandon us during times of need. Our people view the presence of the UN as a sign of hope for the future.

Raising the UN flag and increasing the number of UN officials is a sign of the confidence that you have in the KRG and the circumstances that have come into being.

We are proud of our efforts that have led to realising this environment. As is obvious the security situation in the Kurdistan Region is different from other parts of Iraq.

There is an opportunity offered by progress in commercial activities and investment and we have tried to provide the opportunity for economic and social development. We want our society to be a prosperous

one, and we want the UN to help us to realise this objective.

We in the government work directly on behalf of the people in the Kurdistan Region but also actively participate in the political process in Iraq as a whole.

In 2003 we willingly decided to rejoin Iraq and live within this country. We still believe that this was the right decision and that this has been a key factor in achieving progress in Iraq.

The Kurdistan Alliance is an effective force for progress in Iraq. Our alliance has the ability to unite different groups and also to create consensus in attitudes.

We will continue with conviction on our role. We will continue in a positive way to work for the sake of all Iraqis regardless of ethnicity, religion, or geographic location. We believe in the future of this country and the equality of its citizens.

Here a question arises: Is it just and fair that the KRG works in this way for the sake of the prosperity and wellbeing for the rest of the country while its key demands are neglected?

The KRG had a limited number of demands of the federal government in Baghdad.

Here I would like to cite Article 140 of the Iraq constitution as an example. Our demand was very clear and explicit: The implementation of this constitutional article within the framework of law.

Today I would like to reiterate the same demand.

I believe that cooperation and coordination are a two way process and it is unfortunate that we often see the Kurdistan Alliance and the KRG trying to reach agreement and understanding for the interest of other coalition partners while being rewarded by having its demands ignored.

I want to be very open and to say this as a matter of record and for posterity. The KRG wants to see genuine progress in the implementation of Article 140 of the constitution. The issue of the dispute areas, including Kirkuk, will not be solved by us avoiding it and waiting for time and circumstances to solve it.

And here a question arises, is this a question of controlling oil as some mistakenly understand? No, this is absolutely not the case.

From our side, we have accepted the revenue sharing principle and only 17% of the oil revenues will be allocated to the Kurdistan Region and 83% will be allocated to the Federal Government. I would like to say once again, and very clearly, this is not about controlling oil.

Once again, I would like to reiterate that the issue of Kirkuk is about ownership and property rights. Our policy and attitude are explicit in this regard.

In a peaceful and democratic way, within the framework of the Iraq constitution, we ask for the return of the rights which were taken from us forcibly. In 2003, we had the opportunity to solve this problem by other means if we had wanted to. But we willingly asked that the citizens of Kirkuk be given the democratic and legal right and opportunity so they can decide on their own future.

We believe that this is an issue of justice and the right to return for those whose rights were usurped.

We only ask for the implementation of our just rights which have been stipulated within the framework

of a constitutional article that the majority of the people voted for.

We know very well that not only Kurds live in Kirkuk. But we want to make Kirkuk an example of a city of brotherhood, coexistence and tolerance. As the KRG we want to transfer our experience of national, cultural and religious tolerance from our region to the disputed areas.

We are confident that the rights of all communities will be secured and respected because as a people whose rights have been violated in the past, and who suffered from persecution, it is impossible that others will be persecuted or have their rights violated under our system of governance.

Therefore, Mr Ambassador, I would like to address our serious concern about the slow implementation of Article 140 which we see in Baghdad.

The federal government in Baghdad must stand up to its responsibility regarding this constitutional article.

Ambassador de Mistura, I don't hide from you that the clock is ticking fast and we are approaching the 31st of December. Time does not stop.

It is time for Baghdad to take serious steps to implement their commitment.

The Kurdish people and the KRG has been patient thus far, waiting for a peaceful and legal solution. The time for talks has passed, it is now time for practical steps and implement this constitutional commitment.

The KRG deals with this issue with an explicit attitude and a forward-looking approach. Therefore I ask here whether we want peace, security and stability in Iraq?

Do we need to learn lessons from our history? Do we want to solve the suspended problems in Iraq? On our part, we work for peace, stability and solutions to our problems.

We hope that this time Baghdad tries seriously to implement its commitment so that our people will not remain waiting for a solution.

If we look at the history of Iraq and see the consequences of non-implementation, we see that it has not brought peace and security. Therefore, we ask for real commitment on implementing the principles which we have agreed.

If there are those who believe that ignoring the situation will solve it, they are sadly mistaken. This is a vital and serious issue for our people. We want implementation. I hope this message is very clear to you all.

Our vision for the future is clear. We want to secure a bright future for our people within the framework of a federal democratic system.

We know we have a long way to go but we hope that the international community and the UN understands our position.

We ask for a just solution for the issues that have become an obstacle in the political process.

Once again we are pleased that we are entering into a new stage with our relations with the UN.

Again, we welcome the UN resolution and your expanded role. I am confident that you will play an effective role in finding a solution.

I would like to thank the local and international staff who have been implementing the programme here in the Kurdistan Region. I'd also like to thank the KRG's UN coordinator in Erbil for the work he has been doing.

We hope that through cooperation and coordination we will be able to serve the interests of the people of Kurdistan and all Iraq.

Thank you very much.

This statement can also be found at: www.krg.org

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Addendum to the Supplemental Statement
Barbour Griffith & Rogers, LLC (Registration Number 5430)
Questions 11&12 – Services; Political Activity

Republic of India

The Registrant engaged in two categories of political activities: monitoring and advising on U.S. policymaking processes with regard to India, and arranging meetings between Indian and U.S. officials. The means employed included communications to, and meeting and briefings with, U.S. government officials and members of the U.S. media. Specifically, during the six-month period, the Registrant engaged in the activities listed below.

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CRM/REGISTRATION UNIT

INDIA.FARA.2007

Date of Contact	U.S. Govt. Official Contacted	Manner in Which Contact Was Made	Subject Matter
June 5	Derek Dorn, Office of Senator Joseph Lieberman (I-CT)	Meeting	H-1B Visas
June 5	Rexon Ryu, Office of Senator Chuck Hagel (R-NE)	Meeting	H-1B Visas
June 5	Jamie McWright, Office of Senator John Cornyn (R-TX)	Meeting	H-1B Visas
June 5	Reed O'Connor, Office of Senator John Cornyn (R-TX)	Meeting	H-1B Visas
June 7	Brett Loper, Office of Rep. Jim McCrery (R-LA)	Phone Call	Trade Promotion Authority and India
June 7	Jeff Lande, International Trade Administration	Meeting	H-1B Visas
June 7	Angela Ellard, House Ways and Means Subcommittee on Trade	Phone Call	US – India Trade Relations
June 19	Tim Morrison, Office of Senator Jon Kyl (R-AZ)	Phone Call	H-1B Visas
June 19	Jonathan Hale, Office of Senator Maria Cantwell (D-WA)	Phone Call	H-1B Visas
June 19	Gloria Sims, Department of State	E-mail	MGCA Program
June 19	Michele Chin, Office of Senator John Cornyn (R-TX)	Phone Call	H-1B Visas
June 22	Christopher Gahan, Legislative Director, Office of Senator Judd Gregg (R-NH)	Phone Call	H-1B Visas
June 22	Christopher Gahan, Office of Senator Judd Gregg (R-NH)	Phone Call	123 Agreement
June 24	Shawn Gunnarson, Office of Senator Robert Bennett (R-UT)	Meeting	H-1B Visas

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June 25	Shawn Gunnarson, Office of Senator Robert Bennett (R-UT)	Meeting	Immigration/H-1B Visas
June 26	Michelle Chin, Office of Senator John Cornyn (R-TX)	E-mail	H-1B Visas
June 26	Jeff Bergner, Department of State	E-mail	123 Agreement/US-India Relations/Legislation
June 27	George Fishman, House Judiciary Committee	E-mail	H-1B Visas
July 6	David Fite, House Foreign Affairs Committee	E-mail	123 Agreement/US-India Relations/Legislation
July 10	Jeff Bergner, Department of State	Phone Call	123 Agreement/US-India Relations
July 12	Doug Seay, House Foreign Affairs Committee	Phone Call	US-India-Iran Relations/123 Agreement
July 13	Jeff Bergner, Department of State	Phone Call	123 Agreement/US-India Relations
July 13	Doug Seay, House Foreign Affairs Committee	Phone Call	123 Agreement/US-India Relations
July 16	Jason Scism, Office of Rep. John Shadegg (R-AZ)	Meeting	123 Agreement
July 16	Natalie Farr, Office of Rep. John Shadegg (R-AZ)	Meeting	123 Agreement
July 16	Elizabeth Edwards, Office of Senator Gordon Smith (R-OR)	Meeting	123 Agreement
July 16	Esther Olivaria, Office of Senator Ted Kennedy (D-MA)	Meeting	H-1B Visas
July 17	Michelle Chin, Office of Senator John Cornyn (R-TX)	Meeting	H-1B Visas
July 17	Beth Jafari, Office of Senator John Cornyn (R-TX)	Meeting	H-1B Visas
July 17	Blake Chisam, Office of Rep. Zoe Lofgren (D-CA)	Meeting	123 Agreement

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July 17	George Fishman, Minority Chief Counsel, Immigration, House Judiciary Committee	Meeting	123 Agreement
July 17	Sean Hughes, Office of Rep. Jim McDermott (D-WA)	Meeting	H-1B Visas
July 17	John Lopez, Office of Senator John Ensign (R-NV)	Meeting	Senator Ensign's Trip to India
July 17	David Quinalty, Office of Senator John Ensign (R-NV)	Meeting	Senator Ensign's Trip to India
July 17	Phil Spector, Office of Senator Hillary Clinton (D-NY)	Meeting	H-1B Visas
July 17	Dino Teppara, Office of Rep. Joe Wilson (R-SC)	E-mail	US-India Relations/123 Agreement
July 17	Russ Thomasson, Office of Senator John Cornyn (R-TX)	E-mail	US-India Relations/123 Agreement
July 21	Nick Burns, Department of State	E-mail	US-India Relations
July 24	Manpreet Anand, House Foreign Affairs Committee	Phone Call	US-India Legislation
July 24	Doug Hartwick, US Trade Representative	Meeting	123 Agreement/US-India Relations
July 24	David Fite, House Foreign Affairs Committee	Phone Call	US-India Relations
July 24	Jeff Bergner, Department of State	E-mail	US-India Relations
July 25	Michelle Chin, Office of Senator John Cornyn (R-TX)	E-mail	123 Agreement/H-1B Visas
July 25	Robert O'Connor, House Committee on Homeland Security	E-mail	US policy toward Pakistan and South Asia
July 25	Jeff Bergner, Department of State	E-mail	US-India Relations/123 Agreement
July 25	Tom Sheehy, Office of Rep. Ed Royce (R-CA)	E-mail	US-India Relations/123 Agreement
July 27	Alex Mistri, White House Office of Legislative Affairs	E-mail	US-India Relations/123 Agreement
July 27	Tom Sheehy, Office of	E-mail	US-India Relations/123

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	Rep. Ed Royce (R-CA)		Agreement
July 30	Hap Rigby, Office of Senator Jim DeMint (R-SC)	Meeting	123 Agreement/H-1B Visas
July 30	Janet Poppleton, Office of Rep. Ralph Hall (R-TX)	Meeting	123 Agreement/H-1B Visas
July 30	Shep Ryan, House Committee on Science and Technology	Meeting	123 Agreement
July 30	Bradley Hayes, Office of Senator Jeff Sessions (R-AL)	Meeting	123 Agreement/H-1B Visas
July 31	Nick Burns, Department of State	Phone Call	US-India/123 Agreement
August 2	David Abramowitz, House Foreign Affairs Committee	Phone Call	123 Agreement/US-India Relations
August 2	John Lopez, Office of Senator John Ensign (R-NV)	Meeting	Senator Ensign's Trip to India
August 2	David Quinalty, Office of Senator John Ensign (R-NV)	Meeting	Senator Ensign's Trip to India
August 3	Peter Yeo, House Foreign Affairs Committee	Phone Call	India
August 6	Tom Sheehy, Office of Rep. Ed Royce (R-CA)	Meeting	US-India Relations/123 Agreement
August 6	Nick Burns, Department of State	E-mail	US-India/123 Agreement
August 20	Newell Highsmith, Department of State	Phone Call	123 Agreement
August 27	Newell Highsmith, Department of State	Phone Call	123 Agreement
September 10	Stephen Replogle, Senate Republican Conference	Phone Call	US-India Relations
September 11	Michelle Chin, Office of Senator John Cornyn (R-TX)	Phone Call	H-1B Visas
September 12	Henry Paulson, US Department of Treasury	Meeting	USIBC Meeting re: US-India Relations
September 12	Anish Goel, Department of	E-mail	US-India Relations

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	State		
September 13	Neel Kashkari, Department of Treasury	Phone Call	Secretary Paulson's impending trip to India
September 13	Michelle Chin, Office of Senator John Cornyn (R-TX)	Letter	Feedback regarding the Durbin provisions
September 13	Blake Chisam, Office of Rep. Zoe Lofgren (D-CA)	Meeting	123 Agreement
September 13	Neel Kashkari, US Department of Treasury	Phone Call	Secretary Paulson's impending trip to India
September 18	Doug Hartwick, US Trade Representative	Meeting	123 Agreement/US-India Relations
September 18	David Abramowitz, House Foreign Affairs Committee	Phone Call	US-India Relations
September 18	Tom Moore, Senate Foreign Relations Committee	Phone Call	US-India Relations
September 18	Newell Highsmith, Department of State	Phone Call	US-India Relations
September 19	Collin Vause, Office of Rep. Gus Bilirakis (R-FL)	Phone Call	US-India Relations/ H.Res. 638
September 20	Michelle Chin, Office of Senator John Cornyn (R-TX)	Meeting	Durbin provisions relating to H-1B Visas
September 20	John Dooley, Department of State	Phone Call	US-India Relations
September 20	Tom Moore, Senate Foreign Relations Committee	E-mail	US-India Relations
September 21	Doug Hartwick, US Trade Representative	Meeting	US-India Relations
September 21	Dave Adams, House Foreign Affairs Committee	Meeting	USIBC meeting re: US- India Relations
September 24	Dick Stratford, Department of State	Phone Call	US-India Relations
September 28	Henry Paulson, Department of Treasury	Meeting	Secretary Paulson's impending trip to India
September 28	Tom Moore, Senate Foreign Relations Committee	Phone Call	US-India Relations/123 Agreement
October 5	Nick Burns, Department of State	Phone Call	123 Agreement/US-India Relations
October 5	Jeff Bergner, Department of State	E-mail	US-India Relations/123 Agreement
October 5	David Fite, House Foreign	Phone Call	US-India Relations/123

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	Affairs Committee		Agreement
October 6	Nick Burns, Department of State	E-mail	Situation in India
October 12	Nick Burns, Department of State	Phone Call	123 Agreement
October 12	Nick Burns, Department of State	E-mail	US-India/123 Agreement
October 14	Nick Burns, Department of State	E-mail	US-India/123 Agreement
October 15	David Fite, House Foreign Affairs Committee	E-mail	US-India/123 Agreement
October 16	Newell Highsmith, Department of State	E-mail	US-India/123 Agreement
October 18	Newell Highsmith, Department of State	E-mail	US-India/123 Agreement
October 26	Nick Burns, Department of State	Phone Call	123 Agreement
November 8	Rep. Gus Bilirakis (R-FL)	Meeting	US-India Relations
November 12	David Fite, House Foreign Affairs Committee	E-mail	Legislation on US-Pakistan Relations
November 12	Jonah Blank, Senate Foreign Relations Committee	E-mail	Legislation on US-Pakistan Relations
November 13	Steve Rebillot, Senate Republican Conference	Meeting	US-India Relations

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Date of Contact	Media Contacted	Manner in Which Contact Was Made	Subject Matter
July 16	Wall Street Journal	Phone Call	US-India Relations/123 Agreement
September 12	National Journal	Phone Call	US-India Relations
September 12	National Journal	E-mail	US-India Relations
September 11	Wall Street Journal	Meeting	US-India Relations; Background
October 5	Washington Times	Meeting	US-India Relations; Background

Addendum to the Supplemental Statement
Barbour Griffith & Rogers, LLC (Registration Number 5430)

Question 14(a) – Receipts: Monies

	DATE	AMOUNT	PURPOSE
Republic of India			
	6/30/2007	\$ 58333.00	Fees
	7/31/2007	\$ 58333.00	Fees
	8/31/2007	\$ 58333.00	Fees
	9/30/2007	\$ 58333.00	Fees
	10/31/2007	\$ 58333.00	Fees
	11/31/2007	\$ 58333.00	Fees
Kurdish Regional Government (formerly known as Kurdish Democratic Party)			
	6/30/2007	\$ 18513.29	Expenses
	7/1/2007	\$ 175000.00	Fees
	7/31/2007	\$ 16625.44	Expenses
	8/31/2007	\$ 13637.98	Expenses
	9/30/2007	\$ 2583.12	Expenses
	9/30/2007	\$ 175000.00	Fees
	10/31/2007	\$ 40610.76	Expenses
	11/30/2007	\$ 36699.25	Expenses
Iraqi National Accord			
	7/30/2007	\$ 150000.00	Fees
	8/31/2007	\$ 16671.84	Expenses
	9/30/2007	\$ 420.37	Expenses
	10/31/2007	\$ 305.34	Expenses
	11/1/2007	\$ 150000.00	Fees
	11/30/2007	\$ 3387.71	Fees
State of Qatar			
	6/1/2007	\$ 35000.00	Fees
	6/30/2007	\$ 8369.56	Expenses
	7/1/2007	\$ 35000.00	Fees
	7/31/2007	\$ 223.44	Expenses
	8/1/2007	\$ 35000.00	Fees
	8/31/2007	\$ 25173.91	Expenses
	9/1/2007	\$ 35000.00	Fees
	9/30/2007	\$ 2490.96	Expenses
	10/1/2007	\$ 35000.00	Fees
	10/31/2007	\$ 266.24	Expenses
	11/1/2007	\$ 35000.00	Fees
	11/30/2007	\$ 200.02	Expenses
Government of Serbia			
	6/30/2007	\$ 20045.85	Expenses
	7/31/2007	\$ 20393.13	Expenses
	8/1/2007	\$ 180000.00	Fees
	8/31/2007	\$ 10074.47	Expenses
	9/30/2007	\$ 8717.13	Expenses
	10/31/2007	\$ 3135.74	Expenses
	11/1/2007	\$ 180000.00	Fees
	11/31/2007	\$ 15258.07	Expenses

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Addendum to the Supplemental Statement
Barbour Griffith & Rogers, LLC (Registration Number 5430)

Question 15(c) – Disbursements: Political Contributions

Robert Blackwill

Committee Name	Date	Amount	Candidate
Chambliss for Senate	6/11/2007	\$ 111	Saxby Chambliss
Friends of Mike Ferguson	6/11/2007	\$ 112	Mike Ferguson
Mitch for Governor Campaign Committee	6/11/2007	\$ 278	Mitchell E. Daniels, Jr.
Candice Miller for Congress Committee	6/13/2007	\$ 111	Candice Miller
Enzi for Senate	6/20/2007	\$ 111	Michael Enzi
McCrery for Congress	6/25/2007	\$ 111	Jim McCrery
Barbour Griffith & Rogers PAC	6/30/2007	\$ 1,250	
New Republican Majority Fund	7/16/2007	\$ 1,000	
New Republican Majority Fund	7/16/2007	\$ 125	
Friends of John Barrasso	7/23/2007	\$ 111	John Barrasso
Pat Roberts for Senate	9/24/2007	\$ 1,000	Pat Roberts
Ros-Lehtinen for Congress	9/24/2007	\$ 1,000	Ileana Ros-Lehtinen
Barbour Griffith & Rogers PAC	9/30/2007	\$ 1,250	
ERIC PAC	10/17/2007	\$ 500	
Senate Majority Fund	11/14/2007	\$ 500	

Bryan Cunningham

Committee Name	Date	Amount	Candidate
Romney for President	6/7/2007	\$ 1,000	Mitt Romney
Barbour for Governor	6/12/2007	\$ 150	Haley Barbour
John McCain 2008	6/26/2007	\$ 1,000	John McCain
Barbour Griffith & Rogers PAC	6/30/2007	\$ 200	
New Republican Majority Fund	7/16/2007	\$ 500	
Friends of Tim Hugo	7/17/2007	\$ 250	Tim Hugo
Brownback for President	7/18/2007	\$ 1,000	Sam Brownback
Barbour Griffith & Rogers PAC	7/31/2007	\$ 200	
Barbour Griffith & Rogers PAC	8/31/2007	\$ 200	
Romney for President	9/19/2007	\$ 200	Mitt Romney
NRSC (Federal)	9/21/2007	\$ 500	
Team Sununu	9/26/2007	\$ 100	John Sununu
Barbour Griffith & Rogers PAC	9/30/2007	\$ 200	
DeMint for Senate, Inc.	10/17/2007	\$ 250	Jim DeMint
Barbour Griffith & Rogers PAC	10/31/2007	\$ 200	
Battle Born PAC	11/1/2007	\$ 2,000	
McCaul for Congress Campaign	11/6/2007	\$ 250	Michael McCaul
Barbour Griffith & Rogers PAC	11/30/2007	\$ 200	
Team Sununu	11/30/2007	\$ 500	John Sununu

Lanny Griffith

Committee Name	Date	Amount	Candidate
Friends of Mike Ferguson	6/11/2007	\$ 111	Mike Ferguson
Chambliss for Senate	6/11/2007	\$ 111	Saxby Chambliss
Mitch for Governor Campaign Committee	6/11/2007	\$ 278	Mitchell E. Daniels, Jr.
Vitter for Senate	6/11/2007	\$ 1,000	David Vitter
Candice Miller for Congress Committee	6/13/2007	\$ 111	Candice Miller
Barbour for Governor	6/19/2007	\$ 5,000	Haley Barbour
Friends of Bill Cleveland	6/19/2007	\$ 500	Bill Cleveland

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Addendum to the Supplemental Statement
Barbour Griffith & Rogers, LLC (Registration Number 5430)

Enzi for Senate	6/20/2007	\$ 111	Michael Enzi
McCrery for Congress	6/25/2007	\$ 111	Jim McCrery
Barbour Griffith & Rogers PAC	6/30/2007	\$ 1,250	
New Republican Majority Fund	7/16/2007	\$ 125	
New Republican Majority Fund	7/16/2007	\$ 2,500	
Al Hopkins for Attorney General	7/19/2007	\$ 1,000	Al Hopkins
Thompson Presidential Exploratory Committee 2008	7/23/2007	\$ 2,100	Fred Thompson
Thompson Presidential Exploratory Committee 2008	7/23/2007	\$ 200	Fred Thompson
Friends of John Barrasso	7/23/2007	\$ 111	John Barrasso
Friends of Jeb Hensarling	7/24/2007	\$ 1,000	Jeb Hensarling
Committee to Election John Orman	8/20/2007	\$ 500	John Orman
Friends of Phil Bryant	9/15/2007	\$ 1,000	Phil Bryant
Barbour for Governor	9/18/2007	\$ 1,000	Haley Barbour
Martinez for Senate	9/20/2007	\$ 1,000	Mel Martinez
Pat Roberts for Senate	9/24/2007	\$ 1,000	Pat Roberts
Mabel Murphee for Public Service Commission	9/25/2007	\$ 500	Mabel Murphee
Barbour Griffith & Rogers PAC	9/30/2007	\$ 1,250	
ERIC PAC	10/17/2007	\$ 500	
Charles Barbour for Public Service Commission	10/24/2007	\$ 500	Charles Barbour
ORRIN PAC	11/14/2007	\$ 500	

Ingrid Henick

Committee Name	Date	Amount	Candidate
Rudy Giuliani Presidential Exploratory Committee	7/6/2007	\$ 2,300	Rudy Giuliani
Friends of Sessions Senate Committee	7/12/2007	\$ 500	Jeff Sessions
People for Pete Domenici	9/30/2007	\$ 500	Pete Domenici
Ros-Lehtinen for Congress	11/30/2007	\$ 1,000	Ileana Ros-Lehtinen
Texans for Senator Cornyn	11/30/2007	\$ 1,000	John Cornyn

Brant Imperatore

Committee Name	Date	Amount	Candidate
Friends of Mike Ferguson	6/11/2007	\$ 111	Mike Ferguson
Chamblis for Senate	6/11/2007	\$ 111	Saxby Chambliss
Mitch for Governor Campaign Committee	6/11/2007	\$ 278	Mitchell E. Daniels, Jr.
Candice Miller for Congress	6/13/2007	\$ 111	Candice Miller
Enzi for Senate	6/20/2007	\$ 111	Michael Enzi
McCrery for Congress	6/25/2007	\$ 111	Jim McCrery
McCrery for Congress	6/26/2007	\$ 500	Jim McCrery
Barbour Griffith & Rogers PAC	6/30/2007	\$ 1,250	
Friends of Sessions Senate Committee	7/12/2007	\$ 500	Jeff Sessions
New Republican Majority Fund	7/16/2007	\$ 125	
Friends of John Barrasso	7/23/2007	\$ 112	John Barrasso
Barbour Griffith & Rogers PAC	9/30/2007	\$ 1,250	
Dave Hunt for Delegate	10/11/2007	\$ 500	Dave Hunt
ERIC PAC	10/18/2007	\$ 1,500	
NRSC	10/19/2007	\$ 250	
Battle Born PAC	10/24/2007	\$ 500	
ORRIN PAC	11/14/2007	\$ 500	

Addendum to the Supplemental Statement
 Barbour Griffith & Rogers, LLC (Registration Number 5430)

Pete PAC 11/27/2007 \$ 3,500

Jennifer Lukawski

Committee Name	Date	Amount	Candidate
Friends of Mike Ferguson	6/11/2007	\$ 500	Mike Ferguson
Friends of Mike Ferguson	6/11/2007	\$ 111	Mike Ferguson
Chambliss for Senate	6/11/2007	\$ 111	Saxby Chambliss
Mitch for Governor Campaign Committee	6/11/2007	\$ 277	Mitchell E. Daniels, Jr.
Candice Miller for Congress Committee	6/13/2007	\$ 111	Candice Miller
Enzi for Senate	6/20/2007	\$ 111	Michael Enzi
McCrery for Congress	6/25/2007	\$ 112	Jim McCrery
John Shadegg's Friends	6/27/2007	\$ 500	John Shadegg
Barbour Griffith & Rogers PAC	6/30/2007	\$ 1,250	
New Republican Majority Fund	7/12/2007	\$ 500	
Friends of Jeb Hensarling	7/16/2007	\$ 1,000	Jeb Hensarling
New Republican Majority Fund	7/16/2007	\$ 125	
Citizens for Bunning	7/16/2007	\$ 500	Jim Bunning
Friends of John Barrasso	7/23/2007	\$ 111	John Barrasso
Pat Roberts for Senate	9/20/2007	\$ 1,000	Pat Roberts
Barbour Griffith & Rogers PAC	9/30/2007	\$ 1,250	
Doolittle for Congress	10/9/2007	\$ 500	John Doolittle
Battle Born PAC	10/24/2007	\$ 500	
ORRIN PAC	11/14/2007	\$ 500	

Loren Monroe

Committee Name	Date	Amount	Candidate
Friends of Mike Ferguson	6/11/2007	\$ 111	Mike Ferguson
Chambliss for Senate	6/11/2007	\$ 111	Saxby Chambliss
Mitch for Governor Campaign Committee	6/11/2007	\$ 278	Mitchell E. Daniels, Jr.
Candice Miller for Congress Committee	6/13/2007	\$ 111	Candice Miller
Enzi for Senate	6/20/2007	\$ 111	Michael Enzi
McCrery for Congress	6/25/2007	\$ 111	Jim McCrery
Barbour Griffith & Rogers PAC	6/30/2007	\$ 1,250	
Friends of Sessions Senate Committee	7/12/2007	\$ 500	Jeff Sessions
New Republican Majority Fund	7/16/2007	\$ 125	
New Republican Majority Fund	7/16/2007	\$ 2,000	
Friends of John Barrasso	7/23/2007	\$ 111	John Barrasso
Heather Wilson for Congress	9/30/2007	\$ 2,000	Heather Wilson
Barbour Griffith & Rogers PAC	9/30/2007	\$ 1,250	
Huckabee for President Exploratory Committee	10/22/2007	\$ 1,000	Mike Huckabee
Battle Born PAC	10/24/2007	\$ 500	
John Rounsaville for Congress	11/4/2007	\$ 250	John Rounsaville
Grassley Committee	11/30/2007	\$ 500	Charles Grassley

Daniel Murphy

Committee Name	Date	Amount	Candidate
Friends of Mike Ferguson	6/11/2007	\$ 111	Mike Ferguson
Chamblis for Senate	6/11/2007	\$ 111	Saxby Chambliss
Mitch for Governor Campaign Committee	6/11/2007	\$ 278	Mitchell E. Daniels, Jr.
Candice Miller for Congress Committee	6/13/2007	\$ 111	Candice Miller

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Barbour Griffith & Rogers, LLC (Registration Number 5430)

Mitch for Governor Campaign Committee	6/19/2007	\$ 500	Mitchell E. Daniels, Jr.
Enzi for Senate	6/20/2007	\$ 111	Michael Enzi
McCrery for Congress	6/25/2007	\$ 111	Jim McCrery
Barbour Griffith & Rogers PAC	6/30/2007	\$ 1,250	
Friends of Sessions Senate Committee	7/12/2007	\$ 500	Jeff Sessions
New Republican Majority Fund	7/16/2007	\$ 125	
Friends of John Barrasso	7/23/2007	\$ 111	John Barrasso
Martinez for Senate	9/19/2007	\$ 2,000	Mel Martinez
Keller for Congress	9/25/2007	\$ 500	Ric Keller
Barbour Griffith & Rogers PAC	9/30/2007	\$ 1,250	
Ros-Lehtinen for Congress	10/10/2007	\$ 500	Ileana Ros-Lehtinen
Battle Born PAC	10/24/2007	\$ 500	

Andrew Parasiliti

Committee Name	Date	Amount	Candidate
Hagel for Senate	6/11/2007	\$ 500	Chuck Hagel
Barbour Griffith & Rogers PAC	6/30/2007	\$ 150	
Sandhills PAC	7/12/2007	\$ 500	
New Republican Majority Fund	7/16/2007	\$ 500	
Barbour Griffith & Rogers PAC	7/31/2007	\$ 150	
Barbour Griffith & Rogers PAC	8/31/2007	\$ 150	
Ros-Lehtinen for Congress	9/24/2007	\$ 500	Ileana Ros-Lehtinen
Barbour Griffith & Rogers PAC	9/30/2007	\$ 150	
ERIC PAC	10/18/2007	\$ 500	
Barbour Griffith & Rogers PAC	10/31/2007	\$ 150	
Sandhills PAC	11/9/2007	\$ 500	
Barbour Griffith & Rogers PAC	11/30/2007	\$ 150	

Walker Roberts

Committee Name	Date	Amount	Candidate
McCrery for Congress	6/26/2007	\$ 500	Jim McCrery
Barbour Griffith & Rogers PAC	6/30/2007	\$ 200	
Friends of Sessions Senate Committee	7/12/2007	\$ 500	Jeff Sessions
Barbour Griffith & Rogers PAC	7/31/2007	\$ 200	
Barbour Griffith & Rogers PAC	8/31/2007	\$ 200	
People for Pete Domenici	9/27/2007	\$ 500	Pete Domenici
Barbour Griffith & Rogers PAC	9/30/2007	\$ 200	
Ros-Lehtinen for Congress	10/12/2007	\$ 1,000	Ileana Ros-Lehtinen
Barbour Griffith & Rogers PAC	10/31/2007	\$ 200	
Barbour Griffith & Rogers PAC	11/30/2007	\$ 200	

Ed Rogers

Committee Name	Date	Amount	Candidate
Friends of Mike Ferguson	6/11/2007	\$ 111	Mike Ferguson
Chamblis for Senate	6/11/2007	\$ 112	Saxby Chambliss
Mitch for Governor Campaign Committee	6/11/2007	\$ 278	Mitchell E. Daniels, Jr.
Candice Miller for Congress Committee	6/13/2007	\$ 111	Candice Miller
Mitch for Governor Campaign Committee	6/18/2007	\$ 1,000	Mitchell E. Daniels, Jr.
Barbour for Governor	6/19/2007	\$ 7,465	Haley Barbour
Enzi for Senate	6/20/2007	\$ 111	Michael Enzi
McCrery for Congress	6/25/2007	\$ 111	Jim McCrery
Barbour Griffith & Rogers PAC	6/30/2007	\$ 1,250	
Friends of Sessions Senate Committee	7/10/2007	\$ 1,800	Jeff Sessions

Addendum to the Supplemental Statement
Barbour Griffith & Rogers, LLC (Registration Number 5430)

New Republican Majority Fund	7/16/2007	\$ 5,000	
Friends of John Barrasso	7/23/2007	\$ 111	Friends of John Barrasso
Barbour for Governor	8/10/2007	\$ 2,355	Haley Barbour
Ros-Lehtinen for Congress	9/24/2007	\$ 500	Ileana Ros-Lehtinen
People for Pete Domenici	9/24/2007	\$ 1,000	Pete Domenici
Pat Roberts for Senate	9/24/2007	\$ 1,000	Pat Roberts
Barbour Griffith & Rogers PAC	9/30/2007	\$ 1,250	
Huckabee for President Exploratory Committee	10/3/2007	\$ 1,000	Mike Huckabee
Battle Born PAC	10/24/2007	\$ 500	
Jim Ogsbury for Congress	11/13/2007	\$ 500	Jim Ogsbury

Shalla Ross

Committee Name	Date	Amount	Candidate
Friends of Sam Johnson	6/6/2007	\$ 500	Sam Johnson
Ryan for Congress	6/6/2007	\$ 1,000	Paul Ryan
Walsh for Congress Committee	6/6/2007	\$ 500	James Walsh
Friends of Mike Ferguson	6/11/2007	\$ 500	Mike Ferguson
Friends of Roy Blunt	6/20/2007	\$ 1,500	Roy Blunt
Enzi for Senate	6/21/2007	\$ 1,000	Michael Enzi
McCrery for Congress	6/25/2007	\$ 1,000	Jim McCrery
John Shadegg's Friends	6/27/2007	\$ 250	John Shadegg
Barbour Griffith & Rogers PAC	6/30/2007	\$ 100	
Friends of Sessions Senate Committee	7/12/2007	\$ 500	Jeff Sessions
New Republican Majority Fund	7/16/2007	\$ 1,000	
Coleman for Senate	7/24/2007	\$ 250	Norm Coleman
Citizens for Bunning	7/26/2007	\$ 500	Jim Bunning
Barbour Griffith & Rogers PAC	7/31/2007	\$ 100	
Barbour Griffith & Rogers PAC	8/31/2007	\$ 100	
People with Hart	9/12/2007	\$ 250	Melissa Hart
Pat Roberts for Senate	9/25/2007	\$ 1,000	Pat Roberts
Battle Born PAC	9/26/2007	\$ 500	
Barbour Griffith & Rogers PAC	9/30/2007	\$ 100	
Ros-Lehtinen for Congress	10/10/2007	\$ 500	Ileana Ros-Lehtinen
ERIC PAC	10/18/2007	\$ 1,000	
Greenberg for Congress	10/25/2007	\$ 500	Steven Mathew Greenberg
Barbour Griffith & Rogers PAC	10/31/2007	\$ 100	
Friends of John Boehner	11/26/2007	\$ 1,000	John Boehner
Barbour Griffith & Rogers PAC	11/30/2007	\$ 100	